# THE LIFE OF SAINT HUGH OF LINCOLN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH CARTHUSIAN LIFE
AND EDITED WITH LARGE ADDITIONS

BY

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NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

1898.

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# PREFACE.

THERE is a passage in Ruskin's *Præterita*, in which the critic, while betraying perhaps some lack of appreciation for the work of other monastic bodies, speaks with enthusiasm of the Carthusians, and declares that "they have had a more directly wholesome influence on the outer world than any other order of monks so narrow in number and restricted in habitation."

"In their strength," he continues, "from the foundation of the Order at the close of the eleventh century, to the beginning of the fourteenth, they reared in their mountain fastnesses, and sent out to minister to the world a succession of men of immense mental grasp, and serenely authoritative innocence; among whom our own Hugo of Lincoln, in his relations with Henry II. and Cœur de Lion, is to my mind the most beautiful sacerdotal figure known to me in history. The great Pontiffs have a power which in its strength can scarcely be used without cruelty, nor in its scope without error; the great saints are always in some degree incredible or unintelligible; but Hugo's power is in his own personal courage and justice only; and his sanctity as clear, frank, and playful as the waves of his own Chartreuse well."[1]

[1] *Præterita*, iii. 1. "The original building was grouped round a spring in the rock, from which a rivulet was directed through every cell." (Mr. Ruskin's footnote.)

That this is no extravagant eulogy will be most readily admitted by those who are best acquainted with the life of St. Hugh, and with the religious history of his times.

It is strange that so commanding and attractive a personality should not yet have found an English biographer to do justice to his memory. Of all our mediæval saints, there is not one in whom the man, as distinct from the bishop or the ruler, is so intimately known to us. Even St. Thomas of Canterbury, or St. Anselm, are spectral and shadowy figures in comparison. Hugh, thanks to the memoirs of his Benedictine chaplain, stands before us in flesh and blood. Despite its rather involved Latin, and its discursive style, the Life of the Saint known as the *Magna Vita*, has left us a portrait superior, for truth and vividness, even to the sketch of his contemporary, Abbot Samson, in the Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond.[1] And St. Hugh was not merely a good healthy type of character, a model ecclesiastic as ecclesiastics went in those days, like the energetic Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds; he was all that, and he was a Saint besides. Not a narrow-minded Saint by any means, if there can be such a thing as a narrow-minded Saint, but still one in whose history we meet at every turn the heroic example of old-fashioned virtues—of mortification, of prayerfulness, of charity, truth, and zeal.

The Life which is here presented to the reader is for the most part a translation of the French *Vie de St. Hugues de Lincoln*,[2] which was published by a monk of the Grande Chartreuse in 1890. From one cause or another the production of the book in its present form has

[1] Despite many inaccuracies of detail, much of the spirit of that delightful chronicle is faithfully reproduced in Carlyle's *Past and Present*.

[2] *Vie de St. Hugues, Chartreux, Evêque de Lincoln* (1140—1200), par un Religieux de la Grande Chartreuse, Montreuil, 1890.

entailed almost as much labour as the composition of an original work would have done, and the Editor has more than once been tempted to regret, when it was too late, that he had not cut himself entirely free from the trammels imposed by a rendering from another language. The English version, however, had already been made, and had become the property of the Manresa Press before the duties of editorship devolved upon him. If the name of the translator does not appear upon the title-page, the omission is not due to any wish to ignore the service so rendered, but only to the fact that in editing it for publication very many changes have been made in the version throughout, and parts of it even rewritten. It is possible that a number of these changes might not be regarded by the translator, or others, as changes for the better, and it seems fairer to leave the responsibility indeterminate than to assign any definite name to what is really the work of more than one hand. If any difference of style be detected between the earlier and later portion of the book, it is chiefly to be referred to the process of revision just spoken of. In the first few chapters the French as originally translated has been more closely adhered to, in the later the Editor has allowed himself considerably greater latitude.

Although the Preface, the Appendices, and occasionally portions of the text, of the French Life have been omitted, the printed matter contained in the book has been increased by more than one-third, *i.e.*, by the equivalent of more than two hundred pages of the present volume. This is due to the large number of additional topics which have been dealt with in the text or in the notes, a list of which, under the heading *Additions*, will be found in the Index. To the substantial facts of the history of St. Hugh's career, the Editor can claim to have contributed little that is new.

Perhaps the most interesting of the points here touched upon for the first time is the connection between the subject of this biography and the revelations of the monk of Eynsham.[1] The fact that St. Hugh must have been personally acquainted with many of those whose fate in the next world is there described, lends emphasis to the share taken by him in the publication of the vision. Again, a rather important chronological error, which has led Mr. Dimock, and with him all subsequent English writers, to antedate by five years the coming of St. Hugh to England, and hence to make the Saint five years older than he really was, has at last, I think, been finally disposed of.[2] The author of the French Life had already rectified this mistake, but his correction is now further justified by an extract from the Bruton Chartulary, and by the indisputable evidence of an entry in the Norman Exchequer Rolls, to which attention had not previously been directed.[3]

The Editor's principal aim, however, has been to supplement the information given by the French biographer in those features of the Life which have a special bearing upon English history or English institutions, or which depend upon local knowledge not easily accessible to a monk writing at a distance, and with the restrictions imposed by the Rule of

[1] See pp. 348, seq., and Appendix L, pp. 617, seq.

[2] See pp. 90, seq., and Appendix A, p. 599.

[3] It is interesting to note the links which connect our English Saints one with another, and I may call attention here, amongst minor novelties, to the evidence which shows that St. Hugh was personally acquainted with St. Gilbert of Sempringham. The learned *doyen* of the Bollandists, Father De Smedt, in a visit to Oxford, having very kindly examined the Codex Digby 360, transcribed for me the passage printed in the footnote on page 236, *infra*. I may also, perhaps, notice the fact that the Cistercian Bishop, St. Peter of Tarentaise, to whom, as recounted on pp. 60—64, St. Hugh was so affectionately devoted, was himself trained up, in the early days of Citeaux, by the Englishman who was practically the founder of the Order, St. Stephen Harding.

the Grande Chartreuse. That must be my excuse for dwelling, perhaps somewhat unduly, upon such questions as perpetual vicarages, St. Hugh's grants of churches, the right of sanctuary, the character of Henry II., &c., and particularly on the Cathedral, the Jewry, and the leper hospital of Lincoln, the site of the house where St. Hugh died in London, and of the tomb where his remains first reposed.

But whatever may be gleaned in this way from antiquarian researches or local histories, as well as the few additional details supplied by Giraldus Cambrensis and the chroniclers, must all be regarded as little more than a commentary upon the facts of the great Latin Life, commonly known as the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*. That is the one record of supreme importance, without which no Life of St. Hugh worthy of the name could ever have been written. To the Rev. James Dimock, who edited the text of the *Magna Vita* in 1864, for the Rolls Series, the credit is due of having first clearly proved that the author was a certain Benedictine monk named Adam, the chaplain of the Saint, and that at a later period, when Abbot of Eynsham, this same Adam gave evidence before the Papal delegates in the cause of his master's canonization. The correctness of Mr. Dimock's conclusions as to the authorship has since been placed beyond a doubt by the testimony, recently discovered, of a contemporary writer.[1] From what Abbot Adam himself tells us, we learn that he did not enter the Bishop's service until November, 1197, a little more than three years before St. Hugh's death.[2]

[1] Ralph Coggeshall, the Chronicler. The passage is quoted on pp. 350, 351.

[2] He records that he entered St. Hugh's household three years and five days before the Bishop's death, and during all that time there was only one night that he did not sleep under the same roof with his master. The minute accuracy of these details is characteristic of the man.

He seems, however, to have been a man of great powers of observation, and to have possessed a remarkably retentive memory. As St. Hugh spoke freely and unreservedly about his own past history to those whom he trusted, the result has been that the chaplain was able to gather from his patron's own lips a singularly complete account of all that had befallen him. This he supplemented by information gleaned from various other sources. He paid sundry visits to the Charterhouse of Witham, and it was the Witham monks themselves who first begged him to undertake the task of writing the Life of their former Prior. Even the persecution of the Church during the reign of John, which drove Adam, with many another worthy ecclesiastic, into temporary exile, was in some sense of assistance to him in the composition of his book. For three months of this time he took up his quarters in Paris with Raymund, a connection of the Saint, who was afterwards Canon of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Leicester. We cannot doubt that Raymund, who, more than ten years before had entertained the Bishop himself and this same chaplain, Adam, when on their way to the Grande Chartreuse,[1] will have been able to add something to his store of anecdotes about the early years of the kinsman he delighted to honour.

But what doubles and trebles the value of all this material, is the conviction, which no careful student of the *Magna Vita* can fail to carry away, of the absolute sincerity and truthfulness of the writer. Mr. Dimock, who, as an Anglican clergyman of no very advanced views, might not unnaturally be suspicious of the stories of miracles which abound in the Life, expresses

[1] They spent several weeks at the Grande Chartreuse, and in the neighbourhood. This visit must have afforded the chaplain many opportunities of ascertaining the facts of the Bishop's early life from those who knew him in former days.

his opinion of the author's veracity in the strongest terms. "We may look," he says, "upon much of what this volume contains, almost as if it had been penned by Hugh's own hand." Or again, speaking of the chaplain's perfectly candid account of the "snubbing" administered to him by St. Hugh in a dream, in regard of a miraculous apparition of the Holy Child Jesus in the Blessed Eucharist,[1] Mr. Dimock remarks: "There were few monks indeed in those days, who writing the history of a beloved and revered friend, already regarded as a saint, and famous for miracles, . . . would have told this story as our author has done. We could only expect that a story so glorifying to the hero . . . would have been at the best simply related, as he had been told it by one of the two actors in it, with no shadow of doubt cast upon it. . . . As it is, he has given us a proof of his rigid accuracy and truthfulness, than which it seems to me scarcely possible to imagine a more strong and convincing one."

"I might add much to the same purpose," Mr. Dimock continues, "but it seems to me needless. I shall just remark, however, that in much of what our author relates, he is fully corroborated by contemporary history; as, for instance, in the curious and somewhat marvellous narrative of the supposititious child related in lib. iv. cap. 5; where, while of course he enters more into particulars, his main facts will be found confirmed by the certain testimony of entries in the public records of the kingdom.[2] So far as I can see, there is every reason to consider him a most truthful and accurate writer."[3]

[1] See p. 559, and pp. 340, seq.

[2] See below, p. 307. In Mr. Dimock's notes to this passage full evidence is given of what he has here asserted. (*Magna Vita*, pp. 170, seq.)

[3] Preface, pp. xlvi. xlvii. Again Mr. Dimock says, p. lxv.: "I have spoken strongly and confidently of the author's accuracy and truthfulness," and then he proceeds to indicate a few errors into which Abbot Adam has

This question of the trustworthiness of our chief, and in many matters our only authority, is one of such primary importance, that I have more than once called attention in the course of the Life, to evidence which confirms it or explains apparent difficulties. In particular the reader may be referred to the large type notes which follow chapters iii. and v. of the fourth book,[1] relating respectively to the cure of sufferers from St. Anthony's fire and to the miracle of the bleeding loaves. In both the one case and the other, a superficial critic who was no believer in miracles, would be tempted to conclude that the author at last stood convicted, *flagranti delicto*, of a barefaced imposture. But as pointed out in the notes in question, I venture to think that a more careful examination of the evidence will lead to an exactly opposite conviction. It is a striking thing to notice how Abbot Adam's belief in miracles in no way deters him from recording with perfect sincerity the points which tell against them, and the same tendency may be remarked in several other instances which it is needless to specify in detail.[2] After all it would be strange indeed, if one who stood in such a relation to St. Hugh as Abbot Adam did, were not conspicuous for his straightforwardness and honesty. One of the Saint's most striking virtues was

fallen. Adam certainly seems to have made a slip in assigning fifteen instead of fourteen years to St. Hugh's pontificate, but, on the other hand, in asserting the presence of William the Lion at the Saint's funeral, the biographer seems to me to be right, and Hoveden and Mr. Dimock to be wrong. At any rate, there are four independent and contemporary authorities to be set against Hoveden's unsupported statement. (See below, p. 547, n.) Mr. Dimock only mentions one other supposed error in the *Magna Vita*, and in this case the confusion may be due to some blunder of the copyists.

[1] Pp. 478, seq. and 505, seq.

[2] One conspicuous illustration may be found in Adam's account of the cure of the so-called witch of Bugden. (See below, pp. 402, 403; *Magna Vita*, pp. 267—269.)

his punctiliousness in point of truth;[1] it is not likely that so keen a judge of men would have chosen for his constant companion, his confessor, and his most intimate friend, a Religious who in this respect was unworthy of his confidence.[2]

It may perhaps be objected that a cloud hangs over Abbot Adam's last days, and that he died a disgraced man. To this I can only answer that we have absolutely no clear evidence which would warrant our holding him guilty of any grave moral fault. It is stated in the Dunstable annals that Adam, Abbot of Eynsham, in 1228 was deposed from his office by Hugh (de Wells), Bishop of Lincoln, "as a perjured person, and a manifest dilapidator of the goods of the abbey." As Mr. Dimock points out, it is not even certain that this may not be another Abbot of Eynsham of the same name, who succeeded the biographer of St. Hugh. That two Adams should rule the monastery in succession would be a strange coincidence, but it is not absolutely impossible, for the name Adam was not then uncommon. Two other Abbot Adams besides our chaplain appear in the *Magna Vita;* one was Abbot of Driburgh, who became a Carthusian at Witham, and was the chosen admonitor of St. Hugh,[3] the other was a Cistercian and Abbot of Perseigne, which St. Hugh visited on his way through Normandy in April, 1199.[4] Again, it is unfortunately only too true that there were

[1] See *Magna Vita*, p. 197, and below, p. 304, p. 566, n. 2, p. 444, and p. 224.

[2] We have no choice between believing that Abbot Adam was either, as everything indicates, a most scrupulously truthful writer, or that he was utterly insincere. Both in his account of the revelation of the monk of Eynsham, written in 1196, and in the *Magna Vita*, written about seventeen years later, the chaplain makes profession directly and indirectly of exceptional care and accuracy. (See below, p. 619, cf. pp. 406, 550; *Magna Vita*, pp. 97, 221, &c.)

[3] See below, p. 240. [4] *Ib.* p. 450, n.

often cabals and factions in monastic houses at this period, and where discipline had grown relaxed, an Abbot who for strictness or any other reason became unpopular, might easily be made the victim of misrepresentation.[1] Even such a man as Abbot Samson in the vigour of his age, had a very hard battle to fight with the unruly portion of his community at Bury St. Edmunds before he convinced them that he meant to be master. Moreover, we seem to discover the germ of some hostile feeling at Eynsham against St. Hugh's chaplain in the passage of Ralph Coggeshall, which will be found quoted below on pp. 350, 351. "Many of the Eynsham monks," he tells us, "decry the vision," *i.e.*, the vision with which Adam had to some extent identified himself. But Ralph did not sympathize with them, and he describes Adam as "a most grave and religious man;" adding, "I do not believe that such a man, so religious and so learned, would have written these statements until they had been sufficiently tested." This is strong testimony, and all the stronger from the fact that Ralph Coggeshall was a Cistercian and would not have been prejudiced in favour of St. Hugh's Benedictine chaplain. As to the text of the *Magna Vita*, I have made no attempt to revise that printed by Mr. Dimock in the Rolls Series. This was based upon only two manuscripts, both imperfect,[2] but it is an

[1] It does not seem necessary to suppose that the *perjurus* and *dilapidator* represent two distinct charges. If Abbot Adam had "manifestly wasted" the goods of the monastery, he would thereby have been *ipso facto* accounted *perjurus*, *i.e.*, unfaithful to his oath to administer thriftily the property with which he was entrusted. A possible instance of indiscreet generosity on the part of the Abbot will be found referred to on p. 466. Moreover, Bishop Hugh de Wells had the reputation of being no friend to the monks, and he may have been more ready to listen to the malicious representations of an evilly-disposed faction at Eynsham, than other prelates would have been.

[2] Bodleian, Digby, 165 of the thirteenth century; and Paris, Bib. Nat. 5575, Fonds Latin, the Paris MS. fortunately made good the portions which were lacking in the English one.

excellent text. Since Mr. Dimock's volume appeared other copies have become known. The whole of the *Magna Vita* was printed a few years since by the Carthusians in their *Ephemerides* from a copy revised in the seventeenth century by Dom Le Vasseur, and very long extracts may be found in Dom Le Couteulx' *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*. Besides this there is a manuscript which is or was in the possession of Earl Brownlow,[1] another in the National Library at Brussels,[2] and a third, which formerly belonged to the Chartreuse of Gaillon, in the municipal library of Louviers, No. 21. There seem to be few passages, however, in the *Magna Vita*, in which a difference of reading in the MSS. can be of any material interest.[3]

In comparison with the *Magna Vita*, all the other materials for the Life of St. Hugh are insignificant. The *Vita Sti. Hugonis* by Giraldus Cambrensis is valuable as the work of one who knew the Saint well and who possessed the literary skill necessary to draw a clear and telling portrait in a comparatively limited space. A very large portion of the work, however, is taken up with the miracles worked at the tomb of the Saint, and the sketch seems to have been produced with some special reference to the occasion of his canonization, much as it is customary even at the present day to publish a short account of the life and

[1] Partly collated by Mr. Dimock in the seventh volume of the Works of Giraldus Cambrensis.

[2] Described by the Bollandists in their *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bruxellensium*, vol. i. p. 188.

[3] With regard to a question of chronology already alluded to in this Preface, I have to thank Father Poncelet, the Bollandist, for examining for me the reading of the Brussels codex. Unfortunately that manuscript lacks one leaf, which turns out to contain the very sentence most wanted; but in another detail the substitution of the word *annos* for *dies*, referred to below, p. 72, note, the Brussels manuscript supports the Carthusian chronology as against Mr. Dimock. Indeed there can be no possible doubt that in this matter the English editor is in error.

miracles of any new Beato.[1] The character sketch introduced by Giraldus into his Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln in the form of a comparison and contrast between St. Hugh and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, is almost more valuable than anything else which the Welsh Archdeacon has told us of his friend. It is interesting to learn from so thoroughly competent a judge that while Baldwin was *affatim literatus*, a well-educated man,[2] Hugh was *literatissimus*, a born scholar; after which Giraldus goes on: "The Archbishop was slow and sparing of speech, Bishop Hugh a pleasant companion full of talk and fun; the one was gloomy and timid, the other bright and cheerful of heart, as if his mind were free from cares. The one was a Diogenes, the other a Democritus. The one was slow and self-restrained in his anger as in all other things, the other could easily be roused even upon a small occasion. The Archbishop was smooth-spoken, lukewarm, and easy-going, Hugh on the other hand was brusque, full of enthusiasm, and a strict disciplinarian."[3]

All this quite fits in with what we are told rather more in detail in the *Magna Vita*, as also does the statement made by Giraldus that St. Hugh was rather too rigid and uncompromising when first he entered upon the administration of his diocese, but that afterwards he mellowed, and while continuing to treat himself as rigorously as ever, made all possible allowances for the less spiritual ideas of his fellow-bishops and his clergy, not holding himself aloof, but condescending to their weakness.

[1] Cf. p. 571, below.

[2] This testimony is the more remarkable when we note that Bishop Stubbs describes Baldwin as "one of the most distinguished scholars of his time." It does not seem to me, however, that the statement of Walter Map, to which he refers, warrants so high an eulogy.

[3] This is very much in accordance with the account of Archbishop Baldwin given in the revelations of the monk of Eynsham.

Beside the Life by Giraldus, there are other almost contemporary accounts of the Saint preserved in the *Vita Metrica*[1] and the *Legenda*. The Metrical Life seems to be based upon Giraldus and, apart from the poetical amplifications of the writer, contains nothing fresh except an interesting description of the new Cathedral of Lincoln. This elaborate piece of versification, which from a literary point of view is by no means contemptible, seems to have been composed shortly after the canonization in 1220. The author is unknown.

The *Legenda* was probably intended primarily to be used for the lessons of the Divine Office.[2] It exists in slightly varying forms in several different MSS., but as in the Life by Giraldus, the accounts of miracles seem to occupy a wholly disproportionate amount of space as compared with the facts of the Saint's history. By a curious process of confusion and misapprehension, of which I have given some account in a footnote on p. 569, a portion of this document has come to be cited in the pages of the French *Vie de St. Hugues*,[3] as a

[1] The *Vita Metrica*, a poem of rather more than a thousand hexameter verses, was edited by Dimock with an admirable Introduction and notes in 1861. The *Legenda* may be found in the Works of Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Series, vol. vii.

[2] In a fourteenth century Sarum Breviary, which formerly belonged to the Augustinian Bonhommes at Asheridge (Bucks), and is now preserved at Stonyhurst College, may be found the lessons as actually read both on St. Hugh's principal feast and on that of his translation. They consist of very minute sections taken from the document which I have called the *Legenda*, but, as far as they go, they adhere closely to the text. (See below, Appendix M, p. 622.) My thanks are due to the Rector of Stonyhurst College for his kindness in allowing this valuable MS. to be sent to me in London.

[3] P. 503, and Preface, p. xiv. It would be easy to make a long list of authors, ancient and modern, who have dealt more or less *ex professo* with the history of St. Hugh. Some of these, like Dorlandus, Surius, and Maurocurtius, may be found cited in Mr. Dimock's Prefaces. Others, like the paper in Mr. J. A. Froude's *Short Studies of Great Subjects*, are merely hastily

fragment of an otherwise unknown Life of the Saint by a certain Stephen de Longothona,[1] Archdeacon of Lincoln. Both book and author are alike apocryphal.

The only new manuscript authority which has been of any use to me in preparing the present Life is Cotton Roll, xiii. 27, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Bickley of the Manuscript Room of the British Museum. It contains a relatively complete copy of the Report of the Papal Commissioners appointed to investigate the miracles submitted for canonization. Another but imperfect copy of the same Report, differing somewhat in arrangement, is preserved in Harleian MS. 526. I have made considerable use of the Cotton Roll in the chapter on the miracles and canonization of St. Hugh.

Among modern contributions to the history of St. Hugh's doings in England, I must confess especial obligations to some notes by Mr. E. H. Bates in *Somersetshire Notes and Queries* for March, 1897. The valuable information there given concerning the eviction

written magazine articles. There is a good summary of the most striking features of the Life given in two articles by Mr. J. Walton, now Mr. J. Walton, Q.C., in *The Month*, 1872-3, and the book called *Cloister Life in the days of Richard Cœur de Lion*, by Dean Spence, may be cited as a sympathetic sketch of his career from an Anglican stand-point. There is even an Anglican work of fiction, *Forest Outlaws*, in which St. Hugh of Lincoln is made to play a principal part. So far as I have seen, however, none of these various accounts add anything to the facts of the Life otherwise known to us. It is curious that even amongst Carthusian writers much confusion formerly prevailed. In MS. Addit. 17,085, at the British Museum, is preserved a Chronicle drawn up by Dom F. G. Schwengel, Prior of the Charterhouse near Dantzig. The section devoted to England adds nothing to our materials, but contains many errors. The date, however, of St. Hugh's coming to England seems to be correctly assigned to 1180. (MS. Addit. 17,085, pp. 236, 237.)

[1] As the reader may easily guess, Stephen de Longothona is only a corruption of the name Stephen Langton. Archbishop Langton, as president of the canonization inquiry, seems to have been credited with the authorship of the report partly incorporated in the *Legenda*.

of the residents of Witham on the arrival of the Carthusians, came to my knowledge too late to be made available in its proper place. A summary of it, however, will be found in Appendix A, p. 599.[1]

The late Archdeacon Perry's *Life of St. Hugh of Avalon*, has a claim to be mentioned here as the only English Life of the Saint previously in existence. That the author had a genuine admiration for St. Hugh, and has produced a spirited account of many incidents in his career, may be readily admitted. None the less, Archdeacon Perry was absolutely out of sympathy with the religious life of the middle ages, and his unceasing misrepresentations of and carpings against a system, which the vast majority of those who claim the name of Christian still hold sacred, make his work, in the opinion of the present writer at least, very exasperating reading. It has often been hard to resist the temptation of commenting upon his various utterances, but I have wished to avoid giving an unnecessarily controversial tone to this volume, and for the most part have refrained.[2]

Of a very different character from Archdeacon Perry's work are the various prefaces and articles in which Mr. Dimock has discussed the history of the great Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Cathedral which is his monument. No one has done so much as Mr. Dimock to make St. Hugh better known to the nation for whose forefathers he came to labour, and it is a pleasure to bear

[1] Here again a more minute knowledge of the facts fully bears out the general accuracy of Abbot Adam's account in the *Magna Vita*.

[2] Some of Archdeacon Perry's statements have been noticed on pages 37, 42, 44, 189, and 320, and I am glad to be able to state that in his recently published volume on Lincoln in the Diocesan Histories Series, he withdrew the assertion complained of in the note on p. 189, about St. Hugh's supposed dispensation from fasting to those who celebrated a late Mass. It need hardly be said that in speaking as I have done in the pages which follow of Canon, rather than Archdeacon, Perry, I was writing in ignorance of his promotion to the higher dignity.

witness that this excellent scholar's criticism is generally accurate, well-informed, and moderate in tone. His remarks upon the trustworthiness of the Abbot Adam of Eynsham have already been cited, and now I propose to quote a somewhat lengthy extract from the same Preface to the *Magna Vita* in commendation of the Saint himself. The eloquent and impressive words of this Anglican clergyman will perhaps come home with more force than any eulogy of a Catholic writer, who necessarily accepts the Pope's Bull of Canonization as a guarantee of heroic virtue. It is thus that Mr. Dimock portrays the character of the great Burgundian Bishop of Lincoln.[1]

"I must not attempt to trace his career as Bishop of Lincoln: to do it, however briefly, would extend this Preface beyond all reasonable limits. It must suffice to say—what not only this Life, but every contemporary mention of his doing as a Bishop helps to prove—that a more self-denying, earnest, energetic, and fearless

[1] Even Mr. Dimock does not escape all pitfalls. Witness the following footnote, which, it is only fair to say, occurs in the earliest of his contributions to the history of our Saint—the Preface to the Metrical Life. "Some of his jokes were not always in the most accurate episcopal good taste, according to our more refined notions. His slapping the face, for instance, of the aged candidate for Confirmation (as related *infra*, lines 760—764), requires much memory of the then rudeness of manners, before we can at all reconcile our minds to such an antic of a Bishop, and such a Bishop, on such an occasion." Mr. Dimock is evidently unaware that the *alapa* or buffet forms part of the ordinary rite of Confirmation, and is intended to be symbolical of the endurance which is to be expected of a soldier of Christ. It is closely parallel to the blow which, as the *Pontificale* directs, in the *Benedictio novi militis*, is to be given to the candidate for knighthood, with the words, *Exciteris a somno militiæ*, &c. The striking of the knight with a sword has no doubt a similar signification. (The story in question will be found on p. 191. Cf. Giraldus, *Opera*, vii. p. 95, *Vita Metrica*, ll. 735—765.) No doubt St. Hugh thought it desirable that this exceptionally ignorant and obstinate rustic should not interpret his act as a mere playful caress. I am informed that among the negroes, Bishops often find it necessary to administer this slap with a certain amount of vigour, if they wish the rite to be treated seriously by the recipient of the sacrament.

Bishop has seldom, if ever, ruled the diocese of Lincoln, or any other diocese whatever. He brought with him all his Carthusian simple devotedness to God's service, all the Carthusian contempt for the things of this world. Nowhere, perhaps, but in a Carthusian cell, could such a man as Hugh of Lincoln have been formed. He seems to stand alone amongst the bishops of his day, all of whom, more or less, were creatures of the Court; good and holy men, it may be, but men of policy and expediency, not the men to cope with the rough self-willed warrior nobles, who could endure no opposition to their tyranny over all below them—not the men to withstand such monarchs as Henry II. and Richard I. in their determined encroachments on the rights of the Church. Hugh was that rare man, who was a match, and more than a match for them all. Once sure of the straight path of duty, no earthly influence, or fear, or power, could stop him: he never bated an inch even to such opponents; and while fighting and beating them, still, all the while, won and retained their admiration and reverence. To a stern determination of purpose, a reckless fearlessness of consequences, he united, in rare combination, a cool and excellent judgment, and a clever, ready tact. Always clearly seeing and steadily pursuing the best and wisest course of action, no one ever could more cleverly do and say the right thing, at the right time, in the right way. As Bishop of Lincoln, moreover, he was no such sour ascetic as we might perhaps imagine from his Carthusian training. Giraldus Cambrensis, who spent some three years at Lincoln during Hugh's pontificate, and must have seen and known much of him, describes him, though harsh and hot-tempered and rigid, yet full of talk and joyousness and fun; and there is much in the present Life, and elsewhere, that proves this portrait of him to be no unfaithful one. These

softer points in his character, together with his good judgment and clever tact, may have done much in reconciling men to his stern and harsh features; but they are not enough to account for the extreme love and reverence in which he was so universally held. It was his evident unselfish, unwearied, fearless, and entire devotion to God's glory and man's good, his gallant battling against the mighty ones of earth in defence of the weak, his burning love and care and tenderness of the poor and oppressed and wretched, that alone could win for him the general high regard in which he was held in life, and the great reverence which was paid him after death. Such reverence we, perhaps, and justly, condemn; but his having received undue worship is no reason why we should refuse him the honour and worship most rightly due to him, as an upright, honest, fearless man, an earnest, holy Christian Bishop. I say it with no fear of saying too much, that, in the whole range of English worthies, few men indeed deserve a higher and holier niche than Bishop Hugh of Lincoln."[1]

And now it only remains for me to offer my hearty thanks to those who have courteously answered inquiries or rendered other aid, and whose names will be found in the footnotes to the volume. To one kind friend in particular who has compiled the Index[2] and in many different ways lightened my labours, I owe a debt of gratitude which can only be very inadequately acknowledged in this place.

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

[1] Preface to *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*. Dimock, pp. xxix.—xxxi.

[2] It may perhaps be worth while to call attention here to the facts grouped together in the Index under the heading, "Liturgical Details." The Life of St. Hugh abounds in odds and ends which throw light on the ceremonial of the times.

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# BOOK I.

## FROM THE BIRTH OF ST. HUGH TO HIS ELECTION TO THE SEE OF LINCOLN.

1140—1186.

## CHAPTER I.

### *THE BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS OF ST. HUGH.*

NEAR the borders of Dauphiné and Savoy, the lovely and fertile valley of Graisivaudan opens out and then narrows again, enclosing the townships of Pontcharra and Saint-Maximin, and offering to the spectator the most charming of landscape pictures. Whether he follows the course of the beautiful River Isère, or climbs the mountain slopes clothed with rich vineyards and rising gradually in terraces as they lead him to the heights above, he will meet everywhere with a succession of charming views, varying from moment to moment, but always nobly framed in a background of gigantic rocks and snowy summits belonging to the distant Alps.

To the interest of this beautiful situation is added that of its historical memories, for the ruins, which stand up here and there, in the midst of the smiling vegetation, carry the mind back to ages long passed away. Especially are to be remarked the remains of two castles, once the cradles of two heroes, who, separated from each other by an interval of three centuries, were both equally, though in different ways, the pride and glory of their country. The one displayed a courage in the service of the Church, no less admirable than that of the other in the defence of France. If one of them is justly admired as "the *knight* without fear and without reproach," the other, as his life will bear witness, may as justly be called "the *bishop* without

fear and without reproach." The Chevalier Bayard may perhaps be better known in profane history, which deals by preference with warlike exploits; but the name of Hugh of Avalon shines with greater lustre in the history of the Church, and it is surrounded also by that incomparable halo of glory which belongs only to servants of God, raised upon our altars for the veneration of the whole Catholic world.

The Castle of Avalon,[1] in which the first years of our Saint's life were passed, belonged, at the beginning of the twelfth century, to a family whose coat of arms gave testimony to their ancient lineage. According to Chorier,[2] it bore "upon a field, *or*, the Imperial eagle, *sable*. Such a scutcheon could belong to no family of ignoble origin." The land over which they held sway was relatively speaking of vast extent, and possibly included several other feudal castles, if we may so interpret the expressions of Hugh's contemporary biographer,[3] and also those of the Commissioners of the Dauphin, sent in 1339, to make a valuation of the possessions and revenues of the commandery (*mandement*) of Avalon.[4]

St. Hugh was born in the year 1140;[5] he was

[1] The Castle of Avalon is situated upon territory now belonging to the commune of Saint-Maximin; the Castle of Bayard upon that of the commune of Pontcharra. This Avalon in Isère is to be carefully distinguished from Avallon, a considerable township in the department of Yonne. —[Ed.]

[2] Chorier, *Histoire Générale de Dauphiné*, ii. 74.

[3] *Magna Vita S. H.*, bk. i. ch. 1: *Suis castellis et terris.* Bk. v. ch. 14: *Non modicam dominationem.*

[4] Cf. Crozet, *Description Topographique, &c., des Cantons formant le Département de l'Isère.* Canton de Goncelin, pp. 9 and 10.

[5] The date here assigned for the birth of St. Hugh is founded upon a manuscript of the *Magna Vita* unknown to Mr. Dimock, but formerly in the possession of Dom Le Couteulx, the chronicler of the Carthusian Order. It has not been thought worth while to reproduce in our translation the Appendix which in the original Life is devoted to this point of chronology.—[Ed.]

the son of William of Avalon, and of Anna, his wife. Two other sons, William and Peter, had already been the previous fruit of this union. The name which he received in Baptism was then very common, but it had been quite recently rendered glorious by St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble. This generous friend of St. Bruno, and protector of his newly-founded Order of Carthusians, had died on the 1st of April, 1132, venerated by all in his diocese, after fifty-two years of an episcopate as fruitful in good works as it had been in trials. Only two years after his death he had been canonized by Pope Innocent II., who thus sanctioned the popular veneration which his holiness and his miracles had evoked. The Bishop of Lincoln loved in after years to extol the virtues of his patron, and especially his angelic purity. We do not doubt that the protection of St. Hugh of Grenoble aided our St. Hugh to preserve his baptismal robe of innocence unsullied.

His parents were worthy of the sacred charge confided to them, shielding his tender soul from evil and training it in conformity with the exalted destiny for which Divine Providence was preparing it. To the nobility of their birth they united a nobility of virtue, uncommon at that epoch, and inspired by a lively and ardent faith. William of Avalon was a man of deeply religious feelings and chivalrous character. In his early years he had thought of giving up the world to enter a monastery, and he had never ceased to regret the higher life and to long after it secretly amid the obstacles by which circumstances had surrounded him. The stirring life of a camp had not robbed him of his earnest desire for perfection, and he kept his flesh in subjection by chains of iron worn under his clothes and by continual fasts.[1]

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Vita S. Hugonis*, dis. i. ch. 1.

Although he was a brave soldier, a man noted for his courage among the champions of his time, yet his amiable qualities gained the affection of all who came in contact with him, and the pleasure of his society was eagerly competed for. Every one admired the charming modesty which added lustre to his brave deeds, the gentleness and courtesy which tempered his courage, and the kindness and affability which won all hearts, especially the hearts of his comrades in arms. What was not so generally known was the secret and ceaseless labour by which he had acquired this gentle ascendency. The piety which is "profitable for all things" had in him wrought one of its masterpieces, and becoming in turn the heritage of his son, moulded him to the likeness of his father, yielding generous interest upon the capital thus transmitted.

And if the lord of Avalon might in this way be looked upon as a "flower of chivalry"—*flos militiæ*,[1] his wife Anna was "the glory of the ladies of her time"—*matronale decus*.[2] Between these two noble souls there reigned a perfect unity of thought and feeling. The great lady of the castle, brimming over with gentleness and sympathy, devoted herself to the exercise of Christian charity in all that was most meritorious and painful to nature. She was ever ready to hasten to the assistance and consolation of the poor; she even tended the lepers and washed their feet, fearless of infection either for herself or her children. How St. Hugh profited by his mother's noble example we shall see later on. It was her Divine Saviour whom Anna thus venerated in His suffering members, and whom she trained her sons to see and to serve unfalteringly in every action of life. We have no doubt that her chief maxim of education was that expressed in the words of the holy Blanche of Castille to her son, St. Louis:

[1] *Vita Metrica*, v. 45. [2] *Ibid.* v. 46.

"My son, I would rather see you dead before me than see you commit a mortal sin."[1]

We may be quite sure that phrases such as these often found a place in the instructions of the parents of St. Hugh, and the proof of it is to be found not only in the heroism which he displayed, but in the words and actions of his brothers, who shared the same instruction, and never failed in after-life to encourage him in his resistance to unjust oppression. They often said to him that "they would rather he had never been born, than that he should falter for one moment in the defence of the liberty of the Church."[2]

We need no more exact information to have a very good idea of the pure and bracing atmosphere in which the little Hugh of Avalon passed his childhood, and in which his heart and intellect awakened to life. His mother especially took a tender interest in watching for the first signs of Divine grace in this child of hers, already consecrated to God by his Baptism; and so deeply convinced was she of the teaching of faith with regard to the dignity of a Christian, that she deserves to have applied to her the eulogium which St. John Chrysostom wrote of her namesake, the mother of Samuel. "Anna," says the holy Doctor, "did not look upon Samuel simply as her own child, but as a being consecrated to the Lord; and she watched over him with a double affection, the one inspired by nature, the other by grace. For my own part, I always think of her as penetrated with reverence for her child. And she was right in venerating him thus. When we wish to make an offering to God of cups or vessels of gold, we are very careful not to use them for any other purpose while we are keeping them in readiness for the day of

[1] St. Hugh had an interview with Blanche of Castille during his last journey to France. See farther on in this volume, bk. iv. ch. 2.

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 14.

their consecration: we look upon them as things already marked with the seal of holiness, and we should not dare to treat them carelessly, as if they were ordinary vessels. Such were the feelings of Anna with regard to her son, even before she had presented him in the temple of God. She loved him more than other mothers love their children, and she venerated him as already belonging to the Lord: he was for her a living principle of holiness, and in truth her house was really a temple, for it contained a prophet and a priest."[1]

Had the mother of our Saint, like that other Anna, made a special consecration of her new-born son to God? Had her husband united with her in the pious offering? We know not, but we may well believe that she soon perceived with joy those dispositions of her little one, which gave such bright promise for the future. And if his consecration at the font of Baptism was sufficient to awaken in her the holiest feelings concerning her child, we doubt not that she dreamt also of another more special consecration, aspiring to train up in him a worthy minister for the Church of God.

However that may be, it is quite certain that a most precious vessel of election was fashioned by her loving hands, and that she carefully shielded it from every profanation which could tarnish its lustre. St. Hugh loved in after-years to recall how careful, even to severity, had been the precautions taken to guard his childish innocence. "Indeed," he said, "I never had anything to do with the joys of this world; I never learnt any games, and never felt the least wish to do so." If his parents thus respected the gravity beyond his years which they perceived in him, and did not endeavour to overcome the disrelish which he manifested for the usual amusements of childhood, it was

[1] Discourse upon Anna, the mother of Samuel, 3.

undoubtedly because they wished to second the designs of Providence in calling their son to a high degree of sanctity. After the time given to prayer (a time which grew longer and longer as the years passed by), after the converse with his parents on heavenly things, the boy's chief recreation and delight was to serve the poor in every work of charity; and of this he never tired.

We must not forget, also, that at this time a great wave of self-sacrifice and heroism was sweeping over the world, and that noble souls were everywhere feeling its influence. The memory of the first Crusade was still living in the minds of men; and it still formed the subject of a thousand interesting stories which rivetted the attention of children as well as of older persons. The practical conclusion of all this is easily seen; it is summed up in the shout of the Crusaders, re-echoed still every time that conscience calls for a brave decision: "It is the will of God." Those Christians who were not able to take the Cross were earnestly invited to contribute by their prayers and penances to the deliverance of the Holy Places. The great results at that time obtained, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and the foundation of a Latin kingdom in Palestine, had not put an end to the struggle against the crescent of Mahomet, and the alarming news constantly arriving from the East was already agitating Europe and inspiring St. Bernard with the fiery eloquence which was so soon to call the Christian world to a new Crusade.

The life led by the saintly Abbot of Clairvaux, and by other fervent monks of different Orders, who walked with him in the narrow way of self-renunciation, was another living voice speaking to the little Hugh in accents which found an echo in his own heart. It was easy to show him the enormous walls of rock, behind

which were hidden the solitaries of the Grande Chartreuse, those already famous imitators of the Fathers of the Desert, whom St. Bernard had visited with so much veneration. Without yet attempting to accomplish a like pilgrimage, Hugh could study at his leisure a priory of Canons Regular, situated quite near his father's estate at Villard-Benoît. These good men, living under a rule less severe than that of the Carthusians, edified the whole of the surrounding country by their piety and good works, and were a special attraction to the lord of Avalon.

But we must also acknowledge that, side by side with so much good, many and great evils existed; and although in the domestic sanctuary where the innocence of little Hugh found shelter, no bad example was allowed to meet his eyes, yet he could not help hearing something of the scandals with which then, as now, the pious and thoughtful were grieved. However, when such knowledge came to his ears, his parents took care to inspire him with the deepest horror for those crimes, and to point out to him how commonly they met with severe punishment sooner or later. One fact of this kind remained always engraven on the memory of St. Hugh, who loved to relate it, even in the presence of distinguished personages.

When he was a child he was intimately acquainted with a merchant, who lived upon one of his father's manors. This merchant often went on a journey for business purposes connected with his trade, which consisted principally in selling the produce of more distant provinces. Whenever he was absent on one of these excursions, the lord of Avalon was good enough to undertake the care of his family; and when the vassal returned, he always hastened to thank his lord for this benevolent work of charity, and to present him in return with some rare and valuable gifts. This

good merchant was of an amiable and generous disposition, and had easily won the affection of his benefactor, who was ready at all times to open his heart to those around him.

On one occasion the news of the merchant's return home arrived at the castle, but the merchant himself did not appear as usual. This caused the lord of Avalon some anxiety, and taking an escort of armed men, he repaired without delay to his vassal's dwelling. The merchant's wife met him, and, with much apparent distress, complained of the sudden departure of her husband, who, she said, had only remained one night at home, and had then gone off on a new expedition, telling her that he did not know when he should be able to return.

The knight hesitated for a few moments, but as he saw no reason to doubt the truth of the story, he prepared to return to the castle with his men-at-arms. Instantly the merchant's faithful dog crept up to his feet, and made many strange signs to attract attention, crying piteously all the while, till at last the good knight followed the dog, who led the way to a recently ploughed field. There the faithful animal began to scratch vigorously in one of the furrows: the knight's followers assisted him, at the command of their master, and, to the horror of all, the dead body of the unfortunate merchant at last appeared. He had been strangled by his own wife, assisted in the terrible deed by an infamous lover, to whom the wretched woman had transferred the allegiance due to her husband. The crime thus discovered was soon proved, and both criminals met with the punishment they deserved.

Thus the education of the little Hugh went on, through all these various events of general or local interest, from which his parents drew morals for his instruction, until the time came for him to com-

mence his real studies. According to the custom of those days, a child about the age of seven years was placed in the hands of a tutor or sent to a school, and from that time began to receive regular lessons. There is a circumstance which occurred towards the close of St. Hugh's life, which will help us to understand the importance that was then attached to this first initiation into the mysteries of human learning.

The chaplain who writes the biography of the holy Bishop of Lincoln tells us very precisely, in the course of his narrative, how he had the honour of giving a first lesson to one of the nephews of the prelate. It was done with the greatest solemnity. The pupil, who was just seven years old, and whose name was John, had accompanied his uncle to Belley. And it was in the Cathedral of that town, and upon the altar dedicated to St. John the Baptist, that the book was spread out, from which the little child was to learn his alphabet, and with this solemn ceremony he received his first lesson.[1]

In those ages of faith, the cultivation of the mind was highly esteemed, but the way of showing this esteem was to lay the foundations of the spiritual and mental edifice through a solemn invocation of the Father of Light, whom to know and to love constitutes the highest wisdom. Certainly the studies of the young Hugh were well penetrated with this precious leaven, and far from hindering his progress, the religious character of his early instruction did but ripen his natural talents and lead him on with giant strides. An application and attention, far superior to his years, were at once remarked in him, and also a keenness of intellect which rapidly seized upon the meaning of everything, with a great facility for assimilating the instruction he received. Already he began to reap the fruits of his distaste for worldly amusements. His soul, detached

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 14.

from that which Holy Scripture calls the "fascination of trifles,"[1] soared joyfully towards all that could elevate and enlighten it. God was preparing him in this way to understand the terrible but salutary lesson which death was so soon to give him. He was only eight years old when his mother died; and the impression he then received was so deep, that from that time his heart was closed for ever to earthly joys and steadfastly turned towards the things of Heaven.

His father remained to him, but that father, far from wishing to dispute with the influence of grace in his young heart, was inspired to guide the son's steps towards the religious life, and accomplished this design with the most admirable delicacy. Helped no doubt by the intercession of the beloved and noble wife whom God had taken from him, he resolved to carry out his former wish of consecrating himself to God, and of uniting his youngest son with him in this great action. He soon declared these intentions by a division of all his possessions. He assigned to each of his elder sons, William and Peter, the portion belonging to them, and then announced that Hugh's share was to be given over to the Canons Regular of Villard-Benoît, and that he himself would retire to that pious refuge, accompanied by his youngest and dearest. He had no difficulty in persuading Hugh to agree to this project. His own example was only a confirmation of all his previous instructions, and was a fitting conclusion to the education which his son had always received from him. In after-years, Hugh, speaking of this event, tells us of the great sacrifice his father made when he entered the monastery: "My father gave up all that he had in the world," he says, "to enter the army of Jesus Christ, and feared not to become suddenly a young soldier in the heavenly camp, after having been a veteran among

[1] Wisdom iv. 12.

the soldiers of earth. He might have rested from his labours with honour and glory, like other knights of his age and fame; but he had no wish for rest. He preferred to labour for his Lord and Master here as long as his strength lasted, and to wait for his rest in the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore he took the religious habit—he who had long been animated by the religious spirit—and as he had never ceased to regret that he had not quitted the world as soon as he entered it, he was resolved that I, at least, should have that happiness: and I needed no persuasion to renounce pleasures of which I knew nothing, and to follow him as a fellow-soldier in the spiritual army."[1]

Hugh, it is plain enough, was quite capable, in spite of his tender years, of understanding the advantages of the religious life he was going to embrace, even if he was not able perfectly to comprehend all that he was renouncing. He gave a full consent to the wishes and advice of his father.

There are some who may be astonished at this proceeding of the lord of Avalon, and who may be inclined to accuse him of having violated his son's liberty of conscience; but if they will only reflect a little, they will see that such an accusation is quite groundless. What would they say if they heard that the father of little Hugh had devoted his son, from his earliest years, to a military life, and had placed him as a page at the court of some knightly prince? Certainly they would have no reproach for the father in such a case. Why, therefore, should they not admit that the father had every right to act in the same way when it was a question—not of earthly armies or the service of an earthly king—but of the monastic life and the service of the King of kings? Looked at from this point of view—which is the only right way of looking

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. i. ch. 1.

at it, and was exactly the light in which it appeared to William of Avalon and his contemporaries—we are forced to acknowledge that a religious vocation is the greatest honour a father can desire for his children, and that although he may not force it upon them against their inclination, yet he must not attempt to dissuade them from it, or fail to give them the most sincere and effectual encouragement, as soon as he perceives that such a vocation is the will of God for them.

When the time came for the call of God to be obeyed, Hugh and his father left the Castle of Avalon and took their way to the Priory of Villard-Benoît, where the good Canons were waiting to welcome their two new Brothers, not indeed without emotion, for it must have been a touching sight. The father and son approached their new home together; the one, his youth renewed by the heroic sacrifice he was making; the other, young in years, but bearing already on his childish brow the shining halo of advanced and heavenly wisdom; both united to each other, less by the ties of blood than by those of a Divine charity, both of them glad not to be separated in the farewell they were bidding to the world, and both ready to fight the good fight, and walk bravely in the way of perfection.

## CHAPTER II.

### *HUGH AT THE PRIORY OF VILLARD-BENOIT.*

"THERE is a church, situated upon lands in possession of the city of Grenoble, which is served by a small community of priests belonging to the Order of Canons Regular, seven in number. This sanctuary, with its inhabitants, is supported by the Mother Church and Cathedral of Grenoble, where is to be found another community of the same Order. My father had always a special affection for this Priory, which was situated on the borders of his estate; and as a devoted son, he honoured the Mother Church, of which it was the offshoot."

It is thus that Villard-Benoît is described to us by St. Hugh himself. Without attempting to solve the historical problems suggested by these few words, and without examining in detail into the origin of the Canons Regular and their Rule, we will content ourselves with stating that this Order owed its existence to the inspiration of St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, and its development to St. Peter Damian, Blessed Ivo of Chartres, and St. Norbert, through whose means in course of time it was honoured with the approval of several successive Popes. Its aim was to effect the reformation of the clergy, by beginning with the most distinguished order of clerics after the Bishops, that is to say, with the Canons. In the beginning of the twelfth century, a general effort was made to attain this desirable end, and communities of Canons Regular,

who followed the Rule of St. Augustine, were established in many dioceses, some of which, notably the Canons of St. Victor, and still more the Premonstratensians, the sons of St. Norbert, rapidly developed into flourishing Religious Orders.

St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, had been well acquainted with this work of reformation, which responded to his most ardent desires. He introduced community life amongst the Canons of his Cathedral Chapter; but it was his successor, also called Hugh,[1] and a Religious of the Grande Chartreuse, who completed the transformation, and it was finally approved by a Bull of Pope Innocent II., dated from Pisa, on the 31st of May, 1136.

The Canons of Villard-Benoît became, like those of the Cathedral of Grenoble, to whom they were affiliated, models of religious fervour, all of them animated by the desire of exalting the dignity of the priesthood by their pious lives. At the time when William of Avalon and his young son came amongst them, they were still in their first fervour, and practised the Rule with that fidelity which usually distinguishes a new community. And as a recompense for their efforts after sanctity, and also as a further stimulus thereto, Divine Providence allowed them to be the spectators of the dawn of a Saint's life—such a wonderful and enchanting sight, that we can only form some idea of it by reflecting on those words of the Gospel, spoken of the Holiest of all: "And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and age, and grace with God and men."[2]

Shortly after his arrival at Villard-Benoît, the little Hugh became the chief actor in a touching ceremony.

[1] For fuller details with regard to this prelate, who afterwards became Archbishop of Vienne, see the Notice published at the end of the *Life of St. Hugh of Grenoble*, by M. Albert de Boys.

[2] St. Luke ii. 52.

His father, in consecrating himself to God, made a solemn offering of his child also to the community at the same time. We draw, from a mediæval custumary, a description of this ceremony, which always took place during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The child novice, after having his hair cut away in the manner of a monk's tonsure, carried in his hands an unconsecrated host, and a chalice containing wine. At the end of the Gospel, his parents offered him to the celebrating priest. They covered the hand of their son with the altar-cloth, and the Abbot or Prior clasped the little palm in his own. The parents then solemnly promised that they would never do or say anything which might induce him to leave the Order, and that they would never make him any gift which might endanger his vocation. This promise was then written down, signed in the presence of witnesses, and afterwards laid on the altar. The Superior clothed the child in the religious habit, and, the earthly sacrifice thus terminated, the Mass was proceeded with. The Canons of Villard-Benoît were dressed in a white cassock and surplice; over this was worn a black cope in winter, and the *almuce* or fur cape in summer.

Among the Canons who were present at this oblation of the little novice, was one more observant and more deeply moved than any of the others. This was the venerable Religious who was to be entrusted with the care and monastic instruction of the young Hugh, and whose duty it would be to prepare him for the vows which he was not allowed to pronounce before the age of fourteen. The pupil himself shall paint for us the portrait of his master, and give us an idea of the firm and yet tender affection which was thenceforth the guide of his early religious life. "There was one of these Canons," says St. Hugh, "distinguished above all the rest by his virtue and learning. The gentlemen

of the neighbourhood confided their sons to him, that they might be directed in secular and religious studies, and be trained up by his care in habits of virtue. He was untiring in his efforts to inspire me with a taste for the study of the Holy Scriptures and of theology, above all other pursuits, even from the very beginning of my education. With fatherly caresses and wise counsel he endeavoured to kindle in my young heart a love for the most solid and exalted doctrine. To withdraw my attention from games and other trivialities, he taxed his ingenuity to keep me occupied and interested in ever-varied studies. And while other children of my own age, who were my companions, ran off to their amusements, he would speak to me gently and kindly in words such as these: 'My own dear son, do not you join in the follies of your companions; let them do as they will; it is right for them; but their pleasures are not the pleasures which belong to your vocation.' And then he would add: 'My dear little Hugh, my dear little Hugh, it is for Jesus Christ and His service that I am educating you; childish pastimes are not for you.'"[1] Thanks to these valuable reminiscences, we are at least able to catch a passing glimpse of the monastic school of Villard-Benoît, of the venerable master, the pupils, the programme of studies, and of the profoundly Christian spirit which animated the whole.

The master belonged to that race of monks who united the practices of austere penance and piety with assiduous and untiring study, and by so doing rendered the greatest service to learning. Perfectly content to devote his whole energies to the children entrusted to his care, he laboured conscientiously in this noble duty, without caring for the brilliant success he might have

[1] "Hugonete, Hugonete; ego te Christo nutrio; jocari non est tuum." (*Magna Vita.*)

attained in the world. He was but one of those numerous professors who, at this time, were the glory and honour of the monasteries in which they dwelt. M. de Montalembert tells us that "to the monks almost exclusively had men cause to be grateful for the blessings of a thorough education from the ninth to the fourteenth century, that is to say, during the period of the Church's greatest power and grandeur."[1] In this also they were only following the traditions of their ancestors, for the same might have been said of the solitaries of the desert, as St. John Chrysostom eloquently pleads, in his defence of the monastic life, already, even in those days, so misunderstood and calumniated.[2]

The pupils who attended the monastery schools were divided into two classes. There were, first, the novices, or such children as were consecrated to God, and destined for the religious life; and secondly, the lay scholars, who were afterwards to return to the world. The most distinguished noblemen sent their sons to these institutions, and even children of the blood royal were often educated in this manner—those amongst them, for instance, who were in after life Kings of France, and are known to history as Robert the Pious, and Louis the Fat. If the mingling of the two classes of students was very advantageous to the lay scholars, it was certainly not without its dangers for the young Religious; and at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, held in 817, a decision was adopted against this custom. But the attraction felt for these monastery schools was too powerful for such a prohibition to be of much use, and the monks contented themselves with taking the precautions which, as we have already seen, were customary at Villard-Benoît. Our little Canon associated with his lay companions to a certain extent,

[1] *Monks of the West*, vol. vi, bk. xviii. c. iii.

[2] St. John Chrysostom, *Adversus oppugnatores Vitæ Monasticæ*, i. 3.

and as far as was necessary, but his master was especially careful to separate him from them during the time of recreation. The noisy amusements, which were quite fitting for future knights and courtiers, were not at all suitable for young novices. Hugh, as we know, had never any particular attraction for games, and consequently it was no difficulty to him to obey the wise, though austere, commands of his good master, who, besides, spared no pains in procuring him such recreation as was in accordance with the life of a cloister. Manual labour, as light and as varied as possible, friendly conversation, and pleasant walks, afforded sufficient interest and relaxation, and they took the place in his case of other more worldly amusements.

But for young Hugh study itself was the most delightful of pastimes. The course of studies pursued in the monastery schools was much fuller and more varied than might at first sight be supposed, and to intelligent souls it offered food that was both solid and attractive. To convince ourselves of this, we need only peruse the *Ratio Studiorum* of this period (*Eruditionis didascalicæ libri septem*), a work composed by a celebrated Canon Regular, Hugh of Saint-Victor, who died in 1142. We do not know if at Villard-Benoît was taught the whole Encyclopædia which is summed up in this remarkable work; but we have no doubt that subjects were selected from it which might best form that kind of brain which an illustrious thinker has called "well-built rather than well-packed." Secular studies were not neglected; on the contrary, they held their place beside the sacred and ecclesiastical ones. Neither their utility nor their danger was misunderstood, and a wise course was steered between the intense eagerness with which secular learning was pursued during the period of the Renaissance, and that extreme fear of all that

was not distinctly religious, which induced some earnest souls to banish heathen authors entirely from Christian schools.

The practical rule, which the Church has always approved, is that which St. Peter Damian explains when speaking of the attention paid by St. Gregory VII. to the ancient classics. He says: "This is indeed to spoil the Egyptians of their choicest treasures, and to build with them a tabernacle consecrated to God, when we study the heathen poets and philosophers with the express object of strengthening and cultivating our minds, in order that we may be able to meditate more deeply on the Divine mysteries."[1]

Hugh, therefore, was able to read the masterpieces of heathen antiquity, all proper precautions being taken by his master's watchful care; but at the same time a preference was given to the sublime doctrines of Holy Scripture and the Fathers of the Church. This indeed was the distinguishing characteristic of his education, that it was so profoundly Christian. The spirit of all the instruction he received is summed up in those beautiful words of his venerable master: *Ego te Christo nutrio*—"It is for Jesus Christ I am educating thee." To direct every thought and affection, every aspiration of the soul, towards the Divine Master; to raise the light of human intellect to the Father of Light; to change each step made in the further enlightenment of the understanding into a corresponding advance in the discipline of the will; to bring out the character of the ideal Christian, who should be but another Christ; to lift the soul above the worldly knowledge that puffs up, to the charity that edifies—such were the noble ends proposed to the young student, who was never allowed to forget that he was also a novice. And if his master was incessantly reminding him of this, it was not that

[1] *Opusc.* xxxii. c. ix.

he wished him to neglect other studies, but because he saw in his dear Hugh the monk rather than the student, that is to say, the ideal of a perfect Christian whom he was to guide to the heights of sanctity. Whenever he had to reprove or correct, even to correct severely, he always consoled his little pupil afterwards with the same thought. If the child wept, he also wept and comforted him with the tenderness of a father. "My son," he said, "do not weep, and do not make an old man weep." Then he would congratulate the child on his happy dispositions, and repeat his favourite saying under every variety of form: "It is towards God that I am guiding your footsteps; be quite certain of it, you are going to God."[1]

The young Canon was faithful in imbibing this spirit, and walked with giant strides in the way of perfection. So much progress did he make, in fact, that at the age of fifteen[2] he was allowed to take his religious vows, and to live from that time with the community instead of with the other scholars. It was very shortly after this that an opportunity occurred in which he was able to manifest the filial tenderness and charity with which his heart was already overflowing.

His father, who had all this time been the happy witness of his ever-increasing virtue, was now to reap a particular benefit from it. The father was extremely old, and bowed down by infirmities; all the other Canons regarded him with a respectful sympathy. The Prior, wishing to render him all the assistance and comfort he so well deserved, had the kindly idea of giving him his own son to be his nurse. So he said considerately to Hugh: "You cannot give more pleasure to

[1] "Ad Deum enim desuper te mitto; et ad Deum ibis sine dubio." (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Vita S. Hugonis.*)

[2] Since the Council of Trent, the vows of Religious cannot be lawfully taken before the age of sixteen.

me and to your other brothers in Religion, than by taking the greatest care of your dear father, whom we all revere so much. No one else amongst us is more devoted to duty, no one is more humble or more skilful than yourself; therefore it is to you we confide this important charge." Hugh received this command with joy, and gladly obeyed the order of his spiritual Father, which assigned him a post beside his earthly father, whom he venerated and loved with a double love on account of the bonds of nature and grace which united them. Henceforth his place was by his father's bedside, until the end came. The poor old man had every care and attention that he could desire. His son scarcely ever left him, supporting his feeble footsteps, carrying him when he could no longer walk, preparing his food, and even feeding him, as age and infirmity increased. And all these services were rendered with an affection and tenderness which multiplied their value, for in a thousand ways the old man was made to feel that he was the object of that true love, which is the best of all remedies and the greatest of all consolations.

Hugh's reward was to receive a father's heartfelt blessing in return for each service which he rendered, and it was in this school of charity that he learnt much of that exceeding tenderness and pity for all sinful and sorrowing souls which afterwards distinguished him. When his father died in his arms, his heart, broken with natural grief, opened wide to embrace every form of human suffering. And enriched beyond measure by all the benedictions of which he had been the object, he prepared himself to shed them around him upon others, and to be a worthy representative to them of the infinite goodness of God.

## CHAPTER III.

### *PREACHING AND PAROCHIAL MINISTRY.*

At the age of nineteen, Hugh received a striking proof of the esteem in which he was held by his brothers in Religion. The Canons of Villard-Benoît unanimously requested the Bishop of Grenoble, who was called Geoffrey or Godfrey,[1] to allow him to be ordained deacon. At that time the dignity of a deacon was so much appreciated that many venerable persons wished for no higher position; following therein the example of the first deacons of the early Christian Church. Peter of Blois, a writer of the twelfth century, cites a memorable instance of this. He had learnt, he tells us, from the lips of Pope Celestine III. himself, that before he ascended the Papal throne, the Pontiff had remained a deacon for sixty-five years without ever being raised to the priesthood.[2]

Hugh was perfectly conscious of the honour thus paid to his virtue, but his humility took alarm, and the proposal filled him with many misgivings. As we shall see later on, he had always ardently desired the priesthood, and of course, the diaconate, as a preparation for the higher dignity; but he thought himself too young and too unworthy to approach so near to the altar of God. However, it was of no use for him to bring

[1] This prelate was a Carthusian, and a friend of St. Anthelmus. In the time of Prior Basil, he confirmed the decrees of the first General Chapter of the Order.

[2] Peter of Blois, Ep. 123. Celestine III. was elected Pope at the age of eighty-five, and governed the Church from 1191 to 1198.

forward such arguments, for no one would pay any attention to them; and, after his ordination, it was a never-failing source of joy to all his brothers to witness the angelic devotion with which he fulfilled his sacred duties.

The next step was to give him some apostolic work as a preacher, and here also it was soon discovered that he possessed exceptional qualifications for the task. St. Augustine, who was always regarded by the Canons Regular as their patriarch and lawgiver, furnished the young deacon with a perfect model of sacred eloquence and solid teaching. The holy Doctor says that "before undertaking to instruct others, to give them encouragement, or to touch their hearts, the Christian orator ought to have recourse to God in prayer, and to place more trust in the help received directly from God, than in any flights of human eloquence; so that, interceding at the feet of his Lord, for himself and his hearers, he should never exercise his ministry as a preacher before having been first a humble suppliant. Then, when the hour comes for him to speak, his soul, being bathed in the waters of Divine wisdom, will be ready to pour them out abundantly on the souls of his hearers, and to fertilize them with the blessings he has himself received. . . . If the flowery language of the highest eloquence then rises to his lips, let him not fear to use it, but let it not be with premeditation; rather let the words flow simply from the sublime thoughts which are inspiring him and carrying him away. . . . In like manner, a warrior who is fighting with a sword covered with gold and precious stones, makes use of his weapon for self-defence and attack, without thinking at all of its value. . . . A true orator does not rely upon the beauty and appropriateness of his words; his words derive their value from him."[1]

[1] *De Doctrina Christiana*, bk. iv.

Hugh, with his noble natural character, had exactly these ideas of his duty as a preacher. His mind was quick to receive impressions, his heart was easily moved by all holy emotions, and he possessed that ardent love for souls, which is so necessary to any one who desires to touch them and draw them to God. His powerful words pierced the hearts of his hearers, like a sword which nothing could resist. Whether he was endeavouring to rouse the slothful from their indifference, or boldly denouncing the guilt of scandalous sinners, whether he was encouraging the just to higher efforts of virtue, or breaking the bread of the Word in any of its various forms, not one of his hearers was ever tempted to "despise his youth;" on the contrary, he appeared to all as "the example of the faithful,"[1] or as another Stephen, "full of grace and fortitude."[2]

The great success of the young preacher was able, moreover, to stand the test of time, so often fatal to an orator who is always addressing the same hearers. Days and months passed by, without exhausting the admiration of his brothers in Religion or of the people who flocked to hear him. And amongst those who returned the most heartfelt thanks to God, was the good and venerable Canon who had first guided the steps of Hugh in the paths of holiness and learning. He was now Prior, but he preserved his first affection for this well-beloved pupil. What a consolation it was for him to see all his efforts so well rewarded, and to feel that nothing more remained to be done, but to encourage this son of his soul, who was daily mounting higher and higher towards the summit of perfection.

The time came when he was able to show the confidence he reposed in his dear Hugh, by entrusting to his care the "cell" of Saint-Maxime (now Saint-Maximin). The Canons Regular were allowed to

[1] 1 Timothy iv. 12. [2] Acts vi. 8.

become parish priests, provided they remained faithful to the spirit of their apostolic vocation: the Council of Poitiers, held in 1100, under the Legate of Pope Pascal II., had expressly granted them this privilege, without extending it to monks of other Orders. But for the exercise of this duty, according to the recommendation of Blessed Ivo of Chartres, it was necessary to select those whose conduct was most perfect and whose theology was most sound, because "no one is fit to become the guide and guardian of others, until he has first learned to rule his own life."[1]

It was obedience alone which decided the young Canon to accept the heavy burden thus laid upon him. And when he was installed in his little priory, not far from his father's old Castle of Avalon, he found himself destitute of even the most necessary resources. Far from being discouraged by these privations, which the vicinity of the noble dwelling of his ancestors must have made somewhat humiliating, he esteemed himself happy to be able to practise his vow of poverty more perfectly, and place all his trust in Divine Providence. The small revenues of the little priory were barely sufficient for the support of one canon and the few servants who ministered to his wants; but Hugh, in spite of this, wished to have with him another brother in Religion, who, being a priest, would be able to offer the Holy Sacrifice and administer the sacraments to his parishioners, while he himself could discharge the other duties of his pastoral care. For this post he begged the companionship of one of the older canons, a man whose spirit he knew and venerated, preferring the solid advantages of association with a grave Religious, to the natural pleasure he might have found in the society of a younger friend.

With regard to the land and vineyards of the priory,

[1] Letter 93.

he placed them in charge of honest tenant-farmers, who soon put the land into a better state and made it profitable. For himself, the young parish priest took no thought for the morrow, but simply lived from day to day, doing the will of God and leaving the future in God's hands. Prayer and study filled up his time, when he was not engaged in his pastoral duties. Soon the appearance of the whole priory was changed. The land increased in value, the rents were higher, the tenants prospered in worldly things, and profiting by the example of their pastor, began to lead sober, just, and pious lives. The poor were assisted in their necessities, and the rich were pleased by their respect and obedience. The fame of this model parish spread far and wide, and many visitors came to Saint-Maximin to be the edified witnesses of what was being done there.

Hugh took advantage of the presence of these crowds to sow the seed of the Gospel more abundantly. He preached continually in his little church, and every one of his hearers learnt something it was good for him to know, going away from Saint-Maximin strengthened in faith and resolved to lead a better life. Not content with speaking in public, the young pastor watched carefully over his sheep, notwithstanding their good reputation, and neglected no means of seeking after those who had gone astray, of raising up the fallen, of healing the wounded, and of leading all in the pastures of justice.[1] In short, he showed that he was not only a preacher, but a shepherd of souls, as well versed in the art of guiding and protecting them as in that of imparting instruction.

There is one circumstance belonging to this period which will show us how right he was in his vigilance, and with what energy he could act, when the occasion

[1] Ezechiel xxxiv. 16.

arose. He himself related the facts many years after when he was Bishop of Lincoln, to some trusted friends who were discussing with him those words of our Divine Lord to St. Peter: "If thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him between thee and him alone."[1]

After each one of those present had given his opinion as to how fraternal correction could best be exercised in conformity with this evangelical precept, Hugh spoke last, and confirmed his decision by the following example:

"In my youth," he said, "when I was but a simple deacon, I had charge of a small parish, assisted in what was needful by a priest too old for other work. It happened that one of my parishioners was accused to me, and, what was worse, was truthfully accused, of the heinous sin of adultery. I was deeply grieved, and immediately made inquiries on the subject. Having ascertained beyond a doubt that the accusation was true, I sent for the guilty man, and saw him alone, speaking to him as the exigency of the case required. But far from confessing his crime, he denied it obstinately and indignantly, and when I persisted, he grew furious with anger, and vented curses and threats upon me. He then departed, leaving me in the deepest sorrow to see him so obstinately unrepentant. I then recollected the precept of which we have just been speaking, and, sending for the sinner again, in the presence of two, and then of three witnesses who knew of the affair, I reproved him a second and a third time, still making use of persuasion, and promising forgiveness, if he would acknowledge his sin and do penance for it. He still refused to hear me; he would promise nothing; and would not even take steps to put an end to a cause of open scandal. At last, on a solemn feast-

[1] St. Matt. xviii. 15, seq.

day, I publicly denounced him in the church, and spoke openly of the infamy of his conduct. Finally, I threatened that if he did not at once give up his sin, and present himself as a penitent, I would deliver him over to Satan, to chastise him in his body, *in interitum carnis*.[1] At this threat the guilty man, terrified and covered with confusion, rushed up to the altar, and there confessed and bewailed his fault with groans and tears. After he had thus done public penance, he was admitted to pardon and reconciliation."

It was in this way that St. Hugh fought with evil, and overcame it. But he was not thinking then of the still more glorious conflicts and victories reserved for him in the future. His whole soul was longing after a life of solitude, in which, disengaged from all earthly cares, he might be able to seek after the "one thing necessary." The comparative solitude of his little Priory was not sufficient for him: he felt the need of separating himself more completely from the world and all worldly things, that he might make a new and more perfect sacrifice of himself to God.

Towards the end of the century preceding the one in which St. Hugh lived, the same aspirations had drawn from the world another Regular Canon belonging to the diocese of Reims, who was then on the point of being promoted to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and who as a reward for his act of self-sacrifice became the patriarch of the Carthusian Order. St. Bruno has himself described to us, in his own words, what solitude was to him, and the long line of faithful sons who have walked in his footsteps have confirmed the truth of his

[1] This was the form of excommunication used by St. Paul (1 Cor. v. 5). Certain powers were allowed by custom to parish priests in the twelfth century, which were afterwards withdrawn. Yet even then they could not pronounce any public excommunication without special permission from their Bishop, which doubtless St. Hugh had obtained.

words. In his letter to his special friend, Ralph le Verd, Provost and afterwards Archbishop of Reims, we read the following words, which deserve thoughtful meditation: "As to the blessing and sweetness of solitude and silence, let those who have chosen them tell their charm, for only those who have experienced these joys can speak of them worthily. It is there that generous men can enter into themselves, can dwell with God alone in the very centre of their souls, can cultivate the germs of every virtue, and enjoy a foretaste of Paradise. It is there that we can acquire that purity of heart and serenity of expression which wounds the Heart of the Divine Spouse, and unites us to Him in the pure love which contemplates God alone. It is there that perfect rest accompanies labour, and action hurts not the peace of the soul. It is there that in return for their brave conflicts, God gives to His stout warriors the reward they have desired—a peace which the world knows not, and the joy of the Holy Ghost. It is there they find the beautiful Rachel, so much more beloved by her husband than Lia, although Lia was the wife who had borne him many children. I am speaking here of the contemplative life; and although its sons are less numerous than those of the active life, yet, like Joseph and Benjamin, they are infinitely dearer to their Father. It is there that the 'best part' is to be found, which Mary chose, and which shall never be taken from her. . . . O my brother, fear not then to fly from the turmoil and misery of the world; leave the storms that rage without, to shelter yourself in this safe haven. You know the words of the Divine Wisdom: 'Unless a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be My disciple.' Is it not a grand thing, is it not sweet and profitable, to enter into the school of Divine Wisdom, that there, under the teaching of the Holy

Ghost, we may learn that sacred philosophy which alone can give true happiness?"

The sons of St. Bruno continued to be the living echo of the voice of their holy Father, by imitating his example, and making the desert blossom with their virtues. The thoughts of young Hugh had often been turned in that direction, and it was his delight to listen to the descriptions of those who had visited the Grande Chartreuse. His own Superior at Villard-Benoît had availed himself of his proximity to that abode of predilection to renew his fervour there from time to time. And there is no doubt that the impressions received by him in that spot, and transmitted to his young disciple, had a great deal to do with Hugh's ardent desire of beholding these venerable monks, towards whom he felt so strong an attraction.

At length the time approached when the next momentous step in the life of our Saint was to be taken. Hugh was determined to see for himself what this solitude was like of which he had heard so much. He asked and obtained permission to go there, and it was in the company of his own Prior that he one day joyfully set out to pay his first visit to the Grande Chartreuse.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE.*

In the contemporary biography of St. Hugh, when we come to the commencement of his life in the desert, we read this expressive heading: "How he visited the Chartreuse, and fell in love with it at first sight."[1] A noble and holy love, which only those enlightened souls will understand, to whom God has revealed the mysterious attraction of that famous solitude and its inhabitants. Let us here pause for a moment, and try to enter, with the Saint, into the secret of its charm.

The first sight of the desert of Chartreuse—separated as it is from the rest of the world, by a chain of wild and rocky mountains, strewn with the debris brought down by the avalanches, covered with ice and snow for two-thirds of the year, and full of precipices and dark forests—produces two distinct impressions, which recur under varying forms in the descriptions of those who have visited the spot. "It is frightful!" say some. "It is sublime!" say others. And the two opinions are less opposed to one another, than we might at first suppose. Has not the sublime always, from its very nature, a side that is terrible to our littleness and weakness? The question is, whether the soul is sufficiently strong to rise above its terrors, to forget them, to forget self also, and so to comprehend the infinite beauty which underlies the grandeur of the

[1] "Ubi cum priore suo Cartusiam inviserit, et visam dilexerit." (*Magna Vita*, bk. i. ch. 1.)

scene. When once this is accomplished, the desert begins to wear another aspect altogether, and blossoms out into charms, far greater than those of any peaceful and cultivated plain. Even the winter, long and severe as it is, is not without its enchanting surprises to those who are brave enough to face its hardships. No one can ever forget the splendour of the desert then, completely covered with snow, the fir-trees shining with a dazzling whiteness in the sun, the rocks ornamented with a thousand crystal icicles, and all under a cloudless sky of clearest blue.

The same impression that is felt in presence of this grand solitude, is renewed when we come in contact with the monks that inhabit it. To the outward appearance, their lives are no less strange than their dwelling-place: their garments are coarse and poor, their silence is unbroken, their abstinence is perpetual, their fasts and mortifications are many, their lonely cells surround a cemetery; the whole scene is repellent to eyes long accustomed to the beautiful things of this world. But when Divine grace takes hold of the heart of the beholder, everything is changed, and instead of exclaiming, "What a sad life!" or, "What folly!" he recognizes the sublime folly of the Cross, and cries out, with the three Apostles on Mount Tabor: "Lord, it is good for us to be here!"

Looking at the matter thus, from a nobler and more exalted stand-point, the desert of the Grande Chartreuse may be compared, as Père le Masson has said, to a magnificent amphitheatre, of which the mountains form the walls and tiers of seats; the meadows and forests are the curtains and the scenery; while the arena is a broken and irregular surface, mounting from the rapid torrent which waters its lower steps, up to the monastery, where the soldiers of Christ are grouped together, and higher still, to that rock

hidden in the depths of the forest, where the statue of St. Bruno stands, and where he seems still to be directing the peaceful campaign of his followers. We may certainly apply to the Grande Chartreuse those eloquent words of Holy Scripture: "The mountains are round about it: so the Lord is round about His people from henceforth, now, and for ever."[1] God found these beloved children of St. Bruno "in a desert land, in a place of horror and of waste wilderness. He has led them and taught them Himself ever since; He has guarded them, as the apple of His eye. Like the mother-eagle, enticing her little ones to fly, and hovering over them, God has spread out His wings, He has taken those chosen ones with Him, He has carried them on His shoulders."[2] It was on those eagle wings that the Canon Hugh of Avalon was carried higher and higher, until he understood the mystery of the sight opened before him, and in his heart, thenceforth and for ever, embraced a life of solitude.

Lost in admiration for that wonderful desert scene, "so near to Heaven, and so far from the turmoil of earth," he then visited the monastery, which stood in those days exactly where it stands now. For a terrible avalanche having almost entirely destroyed the original hermitage of St. Bruno and his first companions, in 1132, and seven monks having perished in the catastrophe, Dom Guigo, who was then Prior, fixed the site of the new monastery lower down, where it would be protected from a similar disaster. The buildings, which were finished by his successor, St. Anthelmus, bore that character of simplicity which is suitable for the home of solitaries. Only that was provided which was needful for health and for the proper performance of the worship of God. At the time of which we speak, the cloister and cells were of wood, but they were sufficiently

[1] Psalm cxxiv. 2. [2] See Deut. xxxii. 11.

spacious and well-arranged to make a life of solitude very bearable. The church in the midst was built of stone, and was wanting neither in artistic design or beauty of ornament. The altar was formed of a single enormous block, which could only have been brought up the mountain and fixed in position by prodigious efforts.

The monastery possessed also a well-furnished library, which especially attracted the attention of St. Hugh. "He saw in this abundance of books a powerful help to contemplation, and a means of intercourse with God."[1] Gilbert, Abbot of Nogent, had previously made the same remark, and in 1104, he wrote of the first Carthusians: "Although they are poor, they have a magnificent library, so that they seem to labour all the more ardently to acquire the meat which perisheth not, having very little of that which is perishable. The Count de Nevers, paying them a visit out of devotion, was so touched by their poverty, that on his return home he sent them some silver plate of great price. This they immediately returned to him, saying they had no use for it, and the Count was so much edified by this refusal that he gave them a quantity of choice leather and parchment, which he knew to be necessary for the writing and binding of books. And this time they did not refuse his gift."

Hugh was not content with examining the exterior of the monastery; he applied himself to the study of the Carthusian spirit, and found it all that he could desire. "The inhabitants pleased him even more than the habitation; he saw in them the mortification of the flesh, serenity of heart, liberty of spirit, cheerful countenances, and blameless conversation. Their Rule recommends solitude, but not singularity; if their cells are separate, their hearts are united. Every one lives

[1] *Magna Vita.*

alone, but no one can possess anything of his own, or act differently from the rest. Every one is isolated from his brothers in Religion, yet is united with them in all he does. Each man is alone, and so escapes the tedium of society; but there is sufficient community life for him, so that he is not deprived of the advantage and consolation of fraternal charity. Above all things, each individual is protected by the safe fortress of obedience to one spiritual head, without which so many solitaries, left entirely to themselves, have been exposed to the greatest dangers. This was what so fascinated Hugh, this was what charmed and enraptured his heart, so that he was irresistibly drawn towards the Carthusian life."[1]

Hugh confided his wishes to the successor of St. Bruno, who was then Dom Basil, the eighth Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, elected in 1151. This venerable Religious, who had played a great part in the world, and who was looked upon as a Saint, followed the traditions of his predecessor, St. Anthelmus, and of the Priors who had gone before; so that the Order was increased and strengthened under his administration. The General Chapter of the Order began under his rule to be held once a year, and it is this practice which has contributed so much to preserve the Order in its first fervour, for more than eight hundred years. To all the other merits of Dom Basil, this special one was added, whenever he was spoken of afterwards by Carthusian historians: "It was he," they say, "who received into our Order St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln."

When the young Canon revealed the desire of his soul, and begged with tears to be admitted to the Novitiate, Dom Basil wished to test the reality of his vocation. The petitioner was of noble birth, his appearance was fragile, and he was very young; might

[1] *Magna Vita*, p. 24.

there not be some doubt of his perseverance? Moreover, the *Constitutions* of Dom Guigo, which were part of the Rule of the Order, gave a formal command to Superiors always to present as rigorous a picture as possible of cloistered life to all those who desired to embrace it.[1] Dom Basil executed this command to the very letter: "My good boy," he said, in his most frigid tones, "how can you possibly entertain such an idea? Do you not know that the monks who dwell on these cold and hard rocks, must be as cold and hard as the rocks themselves? They have no mercy upon their own flesh and they show no mercy to others. This is a most frightful country, and our Rule is terribly severe. Our hair-shirt alone would tear off your skin, and leave your bones bare, and your constitution is far too delicate to support the other austerities of our Rule. Our life would kill you."[2]

Hugh had been hoping for a different reply to this, but he was not at all terrified at the difficulties thus presented to him. Like St. Lawrence, our deacon could say to this announcement of sufferings that nature recoils from, but which Divine grace can make light and easy: "This is a feast I have always looked forward

[1] Cap. xxii.: "Novitio itaque misericordiam postulanti (*i.e.*, who asks for admission) dura proponuntur et aspera, totaque vilitas et asperitas vitæ quam subire desiderat, prout fieri potest, ante oculos ponitur. Ad quæ si imperterritus manserit et immotus," &c. (Migne, *P.L.* vol. 153, p. 682.) —[ED.]

[2] It is interesting to note the light in which Canon Perry puts this incident before his readers: "Hugh was soon, however, to discover that all these advantages (of the Carthusian enclosure) did not avail to keep out spiritual pride. One of the Carthusian monks to whom he ventured to hint his desire to cast in his lot with them, sternly reproved his presumption, and contemptuously told him that the life was too high, the struggle too severe, for such as he was." (*Life of St. Hugh of Avalon*, p. 178.) Canon Perry, who can see nothing but spiritual pride in the discouraging speech of the Prior, would probably have been the very first to accuse him of taking unfair advantage of Hugh's boyish enthusiasm if the answer had been more favourable.—[ED.]

to." Obstacles only inflamed his desire the more. He spoke to several of the other monks, and confided to them the anguish of his heart. These good souls, who were not obliged, as their Prior was, to test vocations, took a pleasure in encouraging Hugh, in exhorting him to perseverance, and in promising him all the help that lay in their power, for the furtherance of his design. Hugh was rejoiced at their welcome kindness, and began to understand what was the real meaning of the words of Dom Basil. But another and still more formidable obstacle was to stand in his way, and this came not from the Carthusians but from the good Prior of Villard-Benoît.

It was useless for Hugh to attempt to conceal the longing in his heart from the friend and Superior who knew him so well; it was useless for him to beg the Carthusians to keep silence on the subject, the old Canon understood it all; his fatherly heart revealed to him the crushing blow which threatened him, and he could not resign himself to it. He hurriedly announced to Hugh that they must leave the Grande Chartreuse at once, and as hurriedly departed. On their way back to Villard-Benoît, he gave free course to the grief which filled his heart, saying, with many tears: "O my beloved child, I see clearly that this journey to the Chartreuse has been a terrible misfortune for me and my church. I see that the solitude and silence of that place have enthralled you and carried you out of yourself. It is of little use for me to carry your body home again, your soul is elsewhere. And soon I fear the body will follow the soul, and the hope and consolation of my old age will be gone from me, alas, when I need it most. Is it possible that you can thus forsake your father? Have pity on me, my son, have pity on my white hairs, stay with me for the short time I have yet to live. You cannot have the heart to leave me. If your love

for our Church and for your brothers in Religion has no influence over you, at least grant the request of your old father, and remain with him, to close his dying eyes."

This language, dictated by an affection that was too human, was unworthy of the faithful friend who had formerly said to his young pupil: "It is for Jesus Christ that I am educating you;" and the grief which was overwhelming him made him lose sight of those superior motives which triumph over weak nature. Seeing that Hugh was deeply touched by his sorrow, and was weeping with him, he went farther still, and made a request, or rather gave a command, which even his grief could not excuse. "My beloved son is so good," he said, "that he has already granted my prayer. Therefore, I ask of him to swear solemnly to me, in the name of God, that he will never forsake me as long as I live, and will give up his intention of joining the Carthusians. If he will not do this, I cannot rest."

At these words, Hugh was sorely troubled. He saw before him the painful alternative of either disobeying the voice of God, which was calling him interiorly to a more perfect life, or of disobeying the command of his earthly superior, which had been to him hitherto as the voice of God. Was his vocation strong enough to oppose such a proposition as this? Undoubtedly it would have been, if he had had time for calm reflection, but, carried away by his emotions, he stifled the cry of his soul, and gave the required promise.

We should not have hesitated to say that this was a grievous mistake, almost a culpable weakness, if our Saint, who was by no means slow to avow his own shortcomings, had ever seemed to hold himself guilty in after years. But the historian of his life assures us that in this matter, "he acted in good faith and purity

of intention, placing his confidence in God, and trusting that God would bring about his deliverance."

Nevertheless, he was exceedingly grieved and agitated, and not all the grateful and reassuring words with which his Superior sought to console him, could restore peace to his soul. He thought incessantly of the graces he had lost by delaying to follow his new vocation, which became stronger day by day. But there was his fatal oath, keeping him back from the solitude he desired. What could he do? To whom could he confide his anguish unless to God, who could see the purity of his intention?

God did not indeed abandon His faithful servant, and after allowing him to experience the full bitterness of this trial, at length dispersed his doubts, and poured full light upon his darkness. His conscience, thus enlightened, took courage, and assured him that such an oath was not binding, "wrung from him," as it was, "by surprise," and in a moment of emotion, "to the detriment of his perfection and eternal salvation."

No sooner did he see where his duty lay, than he hastened to obey the call. He put all the affairs of his priory in order, and then, telling no one of his intention, set out once more for the Grande Chartreuse. He never afterwards regretted this determined step, but replied, many years after, to a confidential friend, who asked him if it was right thus to break a solemn promise. "Never have I felt the slightest scruple about it; rather, has it been to me a source of unfailing joy, because from it, I have derived the greatest blessings."

Nevertheless, he could not bid farewell to Villard-Benoît, to St. Maximin, and to the Castle of Avalon, without a lively sense of the sacrifice he was making of his happy and honourable past, for a future of self-renunciation and penance. When, later on, he became Prior of the Carthusian monastery at Witham, and

then Bishop of Lincoln, he revisited the spot that was so dear to him, and never forgot the religious family in which his early youth had been passed amid so much affection and edification.

## Note to Book I. Chapter IV.

The account given above of St. Hugh's vocation to the Carthusian Order makes no mention of an incident which is detailed at considerable length in the *Vita Metrica*, and is there described as having contributed very materially to direct the thoughts of our Saint towards a life of stricter seclusion. According to the verse narrative, the young Canon, while discharging his pastoral duties at Saint Maximin, felt that his pursuit of perfection was interfered with by the visits of women to his "cell," who sought him out no doubt in most cases with a perfectly genuine desire to obtain from him spiritual counsel and direction. In one instance, however, if the metrical writer is to be trusted, a woman, lost to all sense of shame, deliberately set herself to work to compromise him. St. Hugh, we are told, was both shocked and terrified at this assault upon his virtue. In the course of the interview the woman had laid her hand upon his arm. Thereupon he is said to have taken a knife and cut away the flesh where the woman's touch had rested.[1] From that day he knew no peace until he had placed himself in safety within the cloister of the Grande Chartreuse. I must confess that this story seems to me to have little probability in its favour. Such a self-inflicted mutilation must have left a terrible scar to the day of his death,

[1] Sic tactum mulieris Hugo quasi vulnus abhorrens
Vipereum facinus sic indignatur ut ipsam
Particulam carnis ferro præcidat acuto ;
Et cum carne sua carnalia scandala delet.
(*Vita Metrica*, ll. 254—257.)

and a scar like this would have been just the sort of thing which the devoted monk Adam, who seems to have been Hugh's chaplain, body-servant, and confidant all in one, could not possibly have failed to question him about and to record in his narrative. It seems most likely that the whole passage is nothing more than a poetical amplification of a casual observation of Giraldus Cambrensis to the effect that St. Hugh was troubled at the freedom with which women were permitted to come and go in such outlying chaplaincies, where the Canons lived like the ordinary secular clergy, and that he resolved, according to the ascetical ideas of the early centuries, to seek safety in flight. It seemed worth while to make reference to the incident here, if only to protest against the utterly unwarranted remark of a modern Anglican biographer of St. Hugh. "We are compelled," says Canon Perry, "to gather from the account that the state of morals of the Canons and Canonesses was so bad that Hugh could not live among them with safety to his soul." It would be hard to imagine a more preposterous inference. One of the last acts of St. Hugh's life was to visit the scenes of his early youth in company with Adam, his future biographer, when St. Hugh presented to the Canons a Bible of the value of ten marks, a most munificent present in those days; and not one syllable does his biographer hint either here or elsewhere of the slightest irregularity amongst them. What he does tell us shows that Hugh preserved to the end a deep veneration for the men who had guided him in his early years, and in whose society his father had chosen to end his days. He tells us too, that when the Bishop visited Saint Maximin, white-headed old men and women bent double with years crowded round him and were never wearied with publishing the praises of his apostolic work among them. No doubt it was these very *vetulæ incurvæ et*

*mulieres ætate provectæ* whose devotion in their younger days St. Hugh had found dangerous to his soul. But it is infamous upon such evidence to formulate a sweeping charge of immorality against his fellow-Canons, and to drag in, moreover, under the same censure a supposititious community of Canonesses, for whose very existence there is not a shadow of proof. Both Giraldus Cambrensis and the author of the metrical Life speak not of Canonesses, but of the *frequentia mulierum;* and the latter, in his highly poetical description of the *mulier quæ eum tentavit* and her dress, makes it abundantly clear that she was certainly not a Religious. Moreover, it is incredible that in a little "cell" like Saint Maximin, which could barely support Hugh and the one aged priest his companion, a community of Canonesses should have been set up close beside them.

St. Hugh has always been looked upon as an almost perfect representative of the Carthusian spirit, and that spirit was the product of the ascetical ideas of the age, and was probably latent in his heart even before he joined the Order. Now the attitude of the Carthusian Rule towards women may well be illustrated from a section of the *Consuetudines* of Dom Guigo, their fifth Superior General, drawn up some thirty years only before the date of which we are speaking. It is headed, *De Mulieribus*, and despatches the whole question with brief incisiveness in the following two clauses:

"Under no circumstances whatever do we allow women to set foot within our precincts, knowing as we do that neither wise man, nor prophet, nor judge, nor the entertainer of God, nor the sons of God, nor the first created of mankind fashioned by God's own hands, could escape the wiles and deceits of women.

"Solomon, David, Samson, Lot, those who took to themselves the wives they had chosen, and Adam our common father, remind us that man cannot conceal

fire in his bosom without burning his clothes, cannot walk upon red-hot coals without scorching his feet, cannot touch pitch without being defiled."

Is it wonderful that a young deacon who shared such views should think that the lonely life of a parish priest, necessarily brought by his parochial duties into daily contact with women, good, bad, and indifferent, was an obstacle to his pursuit of perfection and even a danger to his soul?

The same Anglican writer just referred to, commenting upon St. Hugh's disregard of his oath in becoming a Carthusian, remarks that "no plain man can hesitate to pronounce this a sinful act," and proceeds to apologize for St. Hugh by inveighing against the low morality of the middle ages, and the delusive "glories of the spiritual life." That point has been excellently dealt with by Father Bridgett in an article on Canon Perry's book in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1880, since reprinted in *Blunders and Forgeries*. I will only add that the difficulty involved in such moral problems is one that might have counselled moderation to the most anti-casuistical of writers. Could any sane man maintain that Herod, having wrongfully sworn to do whatever he was asked, was bound in conscience to put St. John the Baptist to death? Again, if a young Jew were induced by his father to take an oath never to become a Christian, would Canon Perry consider him bound by it, even after he had become convinced of the truth of Christianity? Or what would he say of a Dissenter in similar circumstances, who had sworn never to become an Anglican, or of a man who had sworn never to touch alcohol, and is solemnly assured by his doctors that a moderate use of it is necessary to save his life? St. Hugh believed on calmer reflection that God willed him to be a Carthusian, and that the salvation of his soul depended on his listening to the call.—[ED.]

## CHAPTER V.

### *TEN YEARS OF SOLITUDE.*

1163—1173.

HUGH, on his return to the Grande Chartreuse, was welcomed with joy and kindness. His vocation had indeed sustained a severe trial, and could no longer be a matter of doubt to any one. The apparent coldness of Dom Basil was changed to paternal affection, and he at once admitted the young Canon to the novitiate, and led the way to his cell with the usual ceremonies.

We will only recall one detail of this touching custom. Then, as now, the postulant, when making his public petition to be admitted into the Carthusian Order, prostrated himself before the whole community, assembled in Chapter. "What do you ask?" said the Prior. "Mercy," replied the petitioner. Hugh felt deeply the sentiments of humility and gratitude which this word expresses. He considered himself most happy to be thus admitted into the society of Religious for whom he had such exceeding veneration. He regarded this commencement of a new life as a special blessing from God, and making no account of the years he had spent in the practice of virtue, looked upon himself as a simple beginner, taking his first steps in the path of perfection. Thus fulfilling the words of Holy Scripture: "When a man hath done, then he shall begin."[1]

[According to Dom Le Couteulx,[2] the General Chapter

[1] Ecclus. xviii. 6. [2] *Annales*, ad an. 1163, vol. ii. p. 250.

of 1163 passed a decree which would seem to have reference to the admission of St. Hugh as a postulant, and to enable us thus to fix the date of his departure from Villard-Benoît. The provision spoken of enacts, that "when a canon regular is received into our Order, he is allowed to retain his habit until the day of his profession, while other monks are clothed in our cowl as soon as they are admitted." It may be assumed from this that our Saint still retained, during his noviceship, the canon's white habit and surplice, but this, of course, did not prevent him from wearing the hair-shirt underneath.]

An old tradition still points out the cell which St. Hugh inhabited during his sojourn at the Grande Chartreuse. It is at the end of the Gothic cloister, and is surmounted by the letter *F*. Over the entrance we read these words, upon which the life of the Saint was a living commentary: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur*—"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice; for they shall have their fill."[1] With the exception that stone walls have replaced the wooden ones of the twelfth century, the cell presents much the same appearance now as it would have done in the time of St. Hugh.

Passing through the door which opens on the cloister, we find ourselves in a short covered passage used to pace up and down in in wet weather. This communicates with the solitary's little garden, and further on with his wood-shed, and the room which serves him for carpentry or other manual work. At the end of the passage, a staircase takes us to the upper floor, and here we enter first a room used as a kitchen in the time of the Saint, and then the cell proper, in which he lived and prayed. On one side of it, in a sort of oratory, stand a stall and a *prie-dieu*, on the other is

[1] St. Matt. v. 6.

a bed which shuts up like a cupboard, containing only a straw palliasse and woollen coverings. A small table, fitting into the recess of the window, served for his solitary meals, and a crucifix and a few holy pictures are the sole ornaments of the humble dwelling. Adjoining is a little work-room, a few wooden shelves holding the books which were required by the monk for his studies.

[Perhaps it may be well to remind the reader at this point that the Carthusian monk, though living with his brethren under the rule of a common Superior, leads essentially the life of a hermit, or solitary. It is, if we may so describe it, monastic discipline "on the separate system." Three times in the twenty-four hours—for the long midnight Office, in the morning for Mass, and in the evening at Vespers—he repairs to the church to join the other monks in offering to God a common worship. On each Sunday of the year, and on occasional festivals, he takes his meals in a common refectory, and is further allowed to converse with his brethren between None and Vespers. Once also in the week, the merciful Rule prescribes for the health of mind and body that he shall take his *spatiamentum*, or walk abroad, which is made a matter of obligation, and lasts between two and three hours. But apart from these occasions, the Carthusian spends the hours of both day and night in his cell alone. It is there he eats his frugal meal, or meals, which are now passed in to him ready prepared, through a little wooden shutter, but which, in St. Hugh's time, the monk cooked for himself; it is there he labours, studies, and takes exercise; it is there that he prays, reciting in solitude the day hours, the Office of our Blessed Lady, and often the Office for the Dead as well. People have sometimes taken scandal at the roomy "cells" of the Grande Chartreuse, blaming the extravagance of these long

rows of little houses, each with its covered passage and garden; but as one of the early Generals of the Order has well said, "if those who censure our customs would only learn by a little personal experience what a solitary life is like, they would understand the reason of many things which are now strange to them." Neither is the solitude the only mortification of the Carthusian monk, nor the greatest. A perpetual rough hair-shirt, worn night and day next the skin, an unbroken abstinence from meat and animal fat, a point in which no dispensation is tolerated even in sickness, the long six months' Lent, and the weekly fast on bread-and-water —all these austerities, and others besides, represent the price which the solitary pays for such little semblance of comfort as is involved in his five-roomed house, his garden, and his provision of books and utensils.]

But to return to that well-beloved hermitage in the Grande Chartreuse where St. Hugh spent the best, if also the least eventful, years of his life. From the little garden belonging to the cell, we see, above the wall of the enclosure, and framed as it were in a picture, the wild beauty of the desert mountain. Forests of pine-trees, in their ever-green freshness, relieved in summer-time by the brighter foliage of the beech, guide the eye to the colossal rocks which serve as buttresses to the peak of the Grand-Som, and it seems as if that mighty monument hung almost perpendicularly over the little hermitage, at the height of more than three thousand feet. There, in his moments of relaxation, which are as necessary to the solitary as to other mortals, he could gaze on that sublime spectacle, and draw from it the purest enjoyment and the most exalted impressions.

It is easier thus to give a sketch of the exterior situation than to give a satisfactory description of the life that was led there. Nevertheless, we must find

some answer to the question: What did St. Hugh do in his solitude, during the ten years he dwelt in that lonely cell? We will try to reply in three words, and will say simply: he prayed, he worked, he denied himself in all things.

Prayer is the chief occupation of a Carthusian. He does not seek solitude that he may give way to vague dreams, and lead a life of mental sloth, but his great aim is to be united to his God, and he makes use of vocal and mental prayer as a means to this union.

Everything in his life is so arranged as best to dispose his soul to recollection, to meditation, and, if grace calls him to mount higher, to that state of more perfect prayer which mystical theology calls *contemplation*, and which is indeed a foretaste of the Beatific Vision.

We must always remember that the contemplative life does not necessarily imply this state of perfect contemplation. God gives His choicest graces to whom He will, and there are many devout and humble souls who are content to wait for them till they reach Heaven. But there is no doubt that the life of a Carthusian opens the door for these graces, and all may desire them. The recital in common of the Divine Office brings a beneficial variety into the solitary's life. Without speaking of the welcome break in the monotony introduced by the changing ritual of the greater and lesser festivals, the ecclesiastical year calls up before him all the mysteries of our Lord's Life one by one in a sort of continuous drama. Grave and simple ceremonies serve to enforce attention to the sacred words which fall from his lips, not only in choir, in the presence of his religious brethren, but also in his cell, where he says a portion of the Office alone, but with the same external observances as if he were in church.

The Mother of pure love and holy hope comes to encourage his solitude with her sweet smiles. For the Office of the Blessed Virgin, which is daily recited, in addition to that said in choir, far from being an additional burden, is a source of the greatest consolation. And the Office of the Dead, which is often added to the two preceding, in charity to the suffering souls in Purgatory, stimulates his fervour by keeping ever before his eyes that purity and freedom from stain without which it is impossible to enter Heaven.

As soon as he took up his abode in his cell, Hugh learnt how to recite these different Offices, according to the liturgical rules of the Order, from a venerable monk who filled the post of Novice-Master; the Prior also making frequent visits, and giving many instructions to his new son. So well did he profit by these lessons, that he was able to say afterwards, when rebuking any of his own clergy for negligence or unpunctuality: "From the time I was first received at the Grande Chartreuse, I cannot recollect a single instance in which I kept others waiting, or caused an interruption in a religious function." We may judge from this of his spirit of regularity and his attention to the external worship of God.

No less careful was he to practise all the mortifications commanded or permitted by the Order. If a life of solitude appears dull and insipid to persons in the world who try to follow it in some measure, it is because there is wanting to them this *salt* which savours all the rest, the stimulating condiment of mortification and penance. Hugh asked for no dispensations, and courageously followed every prescribed austerity. Night-watchings, frequent fasts, continual abstinence from flesh meats, severe disciplines, the perpetual hair-shirt worn even during sleep, these, with silence and solitude, formed the mortifications imposed by rule. During Lent,

he fasted every week for three days on bread and water only, doing the same during the whole of Holy Week. And this practice he observed, notwithstanding his many infirmities, up to the time of his being made Bishop. This strict fast, which the Rule calls *abstinence*, is still commanded for one day in each week, unless a dispensation be granted, which must be renewed each time. In his book of *Constitutions*, Dom Guigo tells us that it was formerly practised every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; but as we read that St. Hugh performed his penances according to the "*ancient* Rule and example," we may conclude that this more severe form of *abstinence* was very soon limited to special seasons of penance. But this comparative relaxation was compensated for by other changes; an order being given for the Divine Office to be sung instead of said, which made the night watches much longer and more trying. This rule was introduced when Dom Basil was Prior.

St. Hugh was also faithful to his vow of obedience, for without this most important mortification of the will, bodily austerities are of no value. The author of the aforesaid *Constitutions* places this virtue of obedience above all others. After announcing that no Carthusian is allowed to perform any extraordinary penance without the special permission of his Prior, he adds: "Moreover, if the Prior commands one of his Religious to take more food, or to sleep for a longer time, in fact, whatever command may be given us by our Superior, we are not allowed to disobey, lest we should disobey God also, who commands us by the mouth of our Superior. All our practices of mortification and devotion would be fruitless and of no value, without this one virtue of obedience, which alone can make them acceptable to God."

Guided by this truly religious spirit, Hugh chastised

his body, but at the same time submitted his will to the will of those in authority over him—seeking their advice on every occasion, and so avoiding the two extremes of too great severity or too great self-indulgence. He obtained leave for some extraordinary penances: he was allowed to do what his strength permitted, but was not allowed to go beyond his strength, and thus observed the limits of that perfect discretion which St. Anthony recommends, and which has always been a distinguishing mark of the Carthusian Order.

It was obedience also which regulated his working hours, and dictated the employment of them. A part of this time was given to reading and study, another part to the copying of manuscripts, which, in those days, when printing was unknown, formed one of the most important duties of a cloistered life. By it the monastic libraries were enriched with all the treasures of sacred and profane literature, and those precious relics of antiquity were handed down to posterity. In giving a list of the few articles which were to furnish the cell of each monk, Dom Guigo is especially careful to enumerate everything that was necessary for carrying out this important work, which was brought to such marvellous perfection in the monasteries of the middle ages.[1] He then gives a list of the books which were to be lent to each solitary, and commands that the greatest care should be taken of them.

His life of prayer, mortification, and hard work,

[1] Dom Guigo enjoins that each monk should be provided with "a desk, pens, chalk, two pumice stones, two horns, a scalpel, two knives, or razors, for shaving smooth the parchment, a bodkin, an awl, lead, a rule and ruler to rule with, tablets, and ink." Each one may also have from the library two books, of which he is to take the greatest care; for he adds, "books furnish the perpetual food of our souls, and while Carthusians cannot spread the word of God with their tongues, they can do so by writing with their hands." (*Constitutiones Guigonis*, i. cap. 28; Migne, *P.L.* vol. cliii. p. 694.)—[ED.]

prepared St. Hugh in some degree for the extraordinary struggles and temptations he was now to pass through. These conflicts were terrible. The devil made use of all his evil ingenuity to trouble the peace of this soul, so dear to God, and to disgust him with the life he had chosen. A thousand temptations affrighted his solitude, and night and day, like another St. Paul, he felt the sting of the flesh, and had to endure the "buffets" of Satan. It was in vain he resisted with all his might, it was in vain he redoubled his prayers and penances, calling upon God with groans and tears; the temptation continued to torment him, until suddenly, and in one moment, the God of all consolation came to his assistance, and the struggle was over. Then he was astonished, as he afterwards told a trusted friend, to see how quickly peace returned to his heart, and could not understand how it was that in an instant he could pass from that state of agony and darkness into the full light of a Divine joy and calm. "O my God," he exclaimed, at the remembrance of this time of trial, "while I was deploring the horrible thoughts that assailed me, and humbling myself beneath Thy feet, while I felt myself to be but dust and ashes, suddenly Thou didst take pity on Thy poor servant, and didst pour upon him the light of Thy consolation. Then didst Thou give me to taste of Thy hidden manna in such a way that those wondrous delights made all the sweetness of the world seem bitter to me. But those happy moments of consolation were rare and fleeting. New temptations came, new struggles, new cries for help. But never, in spite of all my unworthiness, did Thy mercy forsake me; in the midst of darkness I heard Thy voice still speaking in the depths of my soul; and it was Thy hand that supported and guided me through all."[1]

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. i. ch. 9.

God has His own designs, full of mercy in reality, when He thus allows His chosen ones to be tempted and tried. He humbles them, that He may afterwards exalt them. He shows them their own nothingness, before inebriating them with His love and revealing to them His secrets. It is God's way with all His Saints. And Hugh, who was called to the highest contemplation, rose in proportion as his sorrows and humiliations had cast him down. All these trials did but confirm his determination to lead a solitary life, and at the end of his year of novitiate he begged to be allowed to take his vows, according to the custom of the Order and the ceremonial which is still in use.

On the appointed day, during the Offertory of the Conventual Mass, the novice advances to the foot of the altar, to unite his sacrifice with that of the adorable Victim. He sings three times, in the words of the Psalmist: *Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium tuum, et vivam: et non confundas me ab expectatione mea.*[1] The choir then repeat the same words, also three times, after which the novice kneels before each of his brothers in Religion, saying humbly, "Pray for me, my Father." He then returns to the entrance of the sanctuary, where the Prior puts over his shoulders the monk's cowl, which has just been blessed, "as a symbol of innocence and humility." Then comes the solemn moment of actual profession, the formula for which ran and still runs in these terms: "I, Brother Hugh of Avalon, promise perseverance, obedience, and true conversion, here before Almighty God and His Saints, and before the holy relics of this hermitage, which has been constructed in His honour, in that of the Blessed Mary, ever Virgin, and of St. John the Baptist, in the presence of Dom Basil, Prior of this Monastery." After chanting

[1] Psalm cxviii. v. 116: "Uphold me according to Thy word and I shall live: and let me not be confounded in my expectation."

the words of this written formula, the newly professed lays it upon the altar, which he kisses at the same time, and then prostrates himself to receive the blessing of the celebrant. In this blessing the Prior implores Jesus Christ, the sole Way that leads to the Eternal Father, "to guide this Religious who has renounced all the joys of the world, in the path of monastic perfection."

Hugh rose from his knees with the one thought that he had at last obtained the grace so ardently desired. He was a Carthusian, and it was for ever. No after dignity could make him forget this first and greatest one. Faithful to his vow of perseverance, he wished for nothing but to pass the rest of his life in his beloved cell, and he only quitted it with extreme reluctance. Faithful to his vow of obedience, he never took any step, even to the acceptance of the episcopate, without a command from his Superiors, keeping always the Rule in its integrity. And faithful to his vow of a true conversion, he never halted in his triumphant march towards perfection, and embalmed the desert with the odour of his sanctity.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *HUGH IS ORDAINED PRIEST; HIS ACQUAINTANCE WITH ST. PETER OF TARENTAISE.*

After his profession, Hugh was able to see more of his brothers in Religion, as the Rule allows conversation on Sundays, on great feast-days, and also during the stay of any honoured guest at the monastery. This is a legitimate consolation, and a preservative against the dangers of absolute seclusion. It is besides a means of mutual edification, for the treasures of charity and fervour, accumulated by each individual Religious in his lonely cell, are then made common property, and without a shadow of affectation, these holy souls unconsciously reveal their progress in perfection to each other, even in the most simple words. In the biography of St. Hugh we read: "In this assembly of just men, were some of exceeding sanctity and gravity, which drew towards them the veneration of many great princes and prelates. The Prior of the house, whose name was Basil, was never known by any other title than *the Saint*, so admirable was the perfection of his virtues. His monks followed closely in his footsteps, so that it was not easy to distinguish which of them was the most fervent and perfect. . . . All persevered zealously in observing the strictest poverty; in forgetting the things of time for those of eternity; in practising humility and compunction of heart; in taking the lowest place, and exalting their brothers." [1]

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. 10.

We may be sure that Hugh was not behindhand in giving edification in his turn. To each one, Superiors, equals, and inferiors, he always showed the greatest charity and respect. And, as at Villard-Benoît, his Prior now gave him an opportunity of practising these virtues, by placing in his charge an aged and infirm monk, who was too weak and ill to be able to leave his cell. Hugh recited the Divine Office with him, and rendered him every service that charity and kindness could suggest, just as he had formerly tended his aged father. In the person of this sick and feeble old man, who gave an admirable example of patience, Hugh recognized and adored his Divine Lord, and his devotion to his charge knew no bounds.

Whether the duty had been specially laid upon him, or whether it was his own zeal that prompted it, we know not, but this holy old man began to prepare his infirmarian for receiving the grace of the priesthood, and thus to repay by spiritual benefits the debt of gratitude he owed to one "who took care of him as a mother takes care of her little child." We believe that our Saint was about thirty years of age when he was ordained priest. His biographer tells us, in fact, that he had already passed several years at the Grande Chartreuse, and we know also that such was the age formerly required by the canon law.

When the day of ordination was approaching, the man of God, whom Hugh was waiting upon, wished to sound his dispositions. So he said: "My son, the time is coming when you may be ordained priest, if you wish. You have only to give your consent, and this dignity will be conferred upon you." At this announcement Hugh's heart bounded. It had long been his greatest joy and consolation to serve at the altar, and to feed on the Bread of Heaven. How ardently, therefore, did he desire the honour of himself celebrating

the Holy Sacrifice, and of uniting himself oftener, and still more closely, with the Lamb of God. So he made no secret of his wish to his old friend, but replied simply and candidly, "There is nothing in this world I desire so much."

"What do you say?" exclaimed the old monk. "How dare you think of such a thing? Who could ever have believed you would be capable of such presumption? I was never more astonished. Have you not often heard it said, He who does not refuse the priesthood, is not worthy to receive it? And you, far from refusing it, you are not afraid, as you have just told me yourself, to long for it with eagerness!"

Hugh was terrified, and thunderstruck, as it were, by this reproach; he threw himself at the feet of the old monk, and with tears asked pardon for his presumption. The venerable invalid was deeply moved by this great humility; he also wept, and telling Hugh to rise, drew him to a seat at his side. Then, inspired by the spirit of prophecy, he uttered these memorable words: "Fear not, my son; and I will no longer call you my son, but my lord. For I know well whose spirit it was which dictated your answer to me just now. And I tell you the truth, that soon you will be made a priest, and on the day that God wills, you will be made a bishop."

Thus reassured, Hugh began to prepare for his ordination. As to the dignity of bishop, which his old friend had predicted to him, far from desiring it as he desired the priesthood, he dreaded it exceedingly, and to such a degree, that when it was really offered to him, he did all he could to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy. As the old monk had said, "He showed himself worthy, by refusing it."

We can easily understand that the priesthood did not inspire him with the same fears. Without ceasing to admire the deep humility which induces many holy

Religious to refuse this dignity, we contend that the sacerdotal consecration is a marvellous completion of the religious consecration. A priest, who is not a Religious, will be less disposed to understand and practise the solemn admonition of the Pontifical: "Know what you are doing; imitate Him whom you touch; and since it is the Death of the Lord which you represent on the altar, be careful to mortify your own body." On the other hand, a Religious who is not a priest, has not the same help for making his self-immolation yet more perfect, and also deprives it of much of the power and fruitfulness it might have for the salvation of souls. Just as a true priest ought to be a real victim, and finds the most abundant graces for the attainment of this end in the monastic life, so the victim who has consecrated himself entirely to the religious life, gains much by becoming also a priest, because he thus resembles more closely his crucified Lord, who was Priest and Victim at the same time, and is so, daily, in the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Two characteristic ceremonies of the Carthusian liturgy symbolize this double transformation. Before beginning the Holy Mass, the Carthusian monk prostrates himself on his side, at the foot of the altar. Seeing him thus, with his head partly bowed down, as though it were resting on the Heart of Jesus, and half raised, as if to listen for a heavenly voice, we recognize the victim sanctified by the contemplative life, and willingly offering himself in union with the Divine Lamb. But when the same Religious rises, and puts on his priestly vestments, all is changed. He commences the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and during the greater part of the Canon, his arms are stretched out, as though to embrace the whole world, just as the arms of our Divine High Priest were stretched out upon the Cross. Then he is no longer a simple monk, he is a priest

bearing up the universe, as he bears his Creator in his hands; in his Sacrifice of the God-Man, he renews his sacrifice of himself, he feels the grandeur of his own office as a victim, and conceives a new desire to suffer for the souls of men.

Such a true victim did St. Hugh become when he had received his sacerdotal consecration and was able to offer the adorable Sacrifice. In so far as obedience allowed him, he redoubled his mortifications and penances. The thought of the great act he was now able to accomplish at the altar, absorbed his whole being. After a fervent preparation, his lively faith could not be concealed from the eyes of those who assisted at his Mass. It seemed as if he really saw his Divine Lord in the sacred Host, and indeed, he was perhaps already favoured, from time to time, with a vision, of which we shall speak farther on. This ardent devotion of our Saint to the mystery of the altar was life-long, and he could have said from one moment to another: "I am preparing to offer the Holy Sacrifice;" or "I am still making my thanksgiving."

To deepen these impressions at this critical period of his life, Hugh was now to make the acquaintance of a holy Archbishop, whose portrait we must rapidly sketch in a few words. St. Peter of Tarentaise (1102—1174) was the founder and first Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Tanné, and became afterwards Archbishop of Tarentaise. So great was his humility, that before he could be induced to accept this dignity, the positive commands of several Abbots of his Order, and of St. Bernard himself, had to be laid upon him to obtain his consent. It was not his own diocese alone that benefited by his zeal and charity; he was known and admired throughout the whole Church as a worker of miracles and an ardent defender of the Papacy.

The people crowded around him, and their faith

was rewarded by repeated wonders. At Saint-Claude, where he was detained a long time by the enthusiasm of pilgrims from all parts, the crowd was so great, that he had to retire into the church-tower, where the two stair-cases served to regulate the stream of sick and other visitors. Terrified at this ever increasing fame and at the veneration which accompanied it, he fled from his diocese, and concealed himself in a monastery in Germany. But he was soon discovered there by his devoted flock and brought back in triumph. Shortly afterwards, in 1159, the schism of Octavien took place. The partizans of Frederick Barbarossa set up Cardinal Octavien, under the title of Victor IV., in opposition to the true Pope, Alexander III., who had just been enthroned. In spite of the Imperial manifesto, which threatened all Bishops who were faithful to their duty with banishment, St. Peter of Tarentaise did not hesitate to defend the cause of the lawful Pontiff. He travelled through Alsace, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Italy, to champion the liberty of the Church, and put an end to the schism which was harassing her. He had even the courage to face the Emperor himself, and to say to him: "You must cease persecuting the Church and her Supreme Head; you must cease persecuting the priests and Religious, the people and the cities, who favour the cause of the lawful Pope. He is a king appointed to rule over all kings, and you will have to give an account of your conduct to him."

The Emperor received these remonstrances of the holy man with respect, beholding the miracles which confirmed his Divine commission. And to those who were astonished at his condescension, he replied: "I can oppose mortal men, it is true, because they deserve it; but I cannot declare openly against God."[1]

[1] The Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, May 8th. *The Life of St. Peter of Tarentaise*, by M. l'Abbé Chevray, may also be consulted.

St. Peter had a special affection for the Carthusians, an affection hereditary in his family, and the schism had served to draw the two Orders still closer together, both being supporters of Alexander III. Faithful to the spirit of their holy Father, who had quitted his beloved solitude to assist Blessed Urban II., the Carthusians had always maintained their devotion for the Head of the Church. Landuin, the first successor of St. Bruno, died from the wounds inflicted upon him by the hired assassins of an Antipope. And later on, the adhesion of the Carthusians to the cause of Innocent II. was cited by St. Bernard as a decisive argument in favour of that Pontiff.[1] St. Anthelmus kept up this noble tradition, employing all his efforts to have Alexander III. recognized by the houses of his Order; and although he had ceased to fill the post of General of the Carthusians, he succeeded in his endeavours, with the assistance of another good monk called Dom Geoffrey, a former Prior of Mont-Dieu.[2]

St. Peter of Tarentaise exercised the same influence in the Cistercian Order as St. Anthelmus had exerted among the Carthusians, and it was to their united efforts that Alexander III. owed his final triumph. It is not surprising, therefore, that the holy Archbishop, especially towards the end of his life, made repeated visits to the Grande Chartreuse, where he frequently passed several months in solitude. It was there he found a congenial repose from the cares and fatigues of his ministry, and delighted in the society of those who could understand and share all his sentiments. He treated Dom Basil as his friend and consulted him about his affairs, whenever it was necessary. We have from his hand a charter, drafted at the Grande Chartreuse in 1170, in which he arranges certain

[1] *Works of St. Bernard*, vol. vii. p. 591.
[2] Dom Le Couteulx, *Annales Ord. Cartus*, vol. ii. p. 189.

divisions of land which he had made for the canons of his church, "having come to this decision," he says, "by the advice of the Carthusians." This Act was read in the cloister of the Grande Chartreuse, in presence of the Prior and his monks: and was approved by Amadeus, procurator of the Order, and by William his nephew, both of them formerly canons of Tarentaise.[1]

At this time, if not earlier, Hugh was selected for the charitable office he had twice before so well fulfilled, and that was, to take care of the holy Archbishop, whose great age and infirmity rendered such attention necessary, and whose strength was ruined by continual austerities. It was the association of two Saints, for their mutual edification and encouragement.

Hugh used to wash the feet of the Archbishop, and would have kissed them reverently, if the holy old man had not refused him permission to do this. He neglected nothing that was for the comfort of his charge, and when all bodily wants were attended to, his next endeavour was to give pleasure to the mind. "Whether it was a question of tracing a quotation or of finding a book in the monastery library, he was always ready, and always successful in his search. The Old and New Testaments, the Lives of the Saints, the writings of the Fathers of the Church, nothing was unknown to him. When he listened to the words of the Archbishop, it was with charming docility; when he spoke in his turn, it was with brightness, and always to the point. . . . Every day he asked for the prelate's benediction and absolution, who gave both gladly, and who took pleasure in communicating to him the spiritual riches he had acquired, omitting nothing that could

[1] Besson, *Mémoires pour l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des Diocèses de Genève, Tarentaise, et Maurienne.* New Edition, pp. 353—355.

sanctify the young priest, and through him, a vast number of souls."[1]

Their pious conversations were continued in the open air, when the aged prelate walked, leaning on the arm of his faithful companion; and long afterwards the rustic seat was shown on which they rested on their way back to the monastery—a simple plank of wood between two tall pine-trees standing near each other.

St. Hugh used to relate, in after years, how, when at night time, he assisted the Archbishop into his bed, and arranged the bed coverings, he always heard him utter this last prayer before composing himself to rest: "Grant, Lord, we beseech Thee, as a reward for the thanks we offer Thee for all Thy benefits, a more abundant outpouring of Thy favours."[2]

St. Peter of Tarentaise died in 1174, while he was trying to bring about a reconciliation between the Kings of England and France, by command of the Pope. When he was canonized, in 1191, by Celestine III., St. Hugh was already following his example, exhorting and directing princes, and struggling manfully for the liberty of the Church.

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. i. ch. 13.

[2] "Præsta quæsumus Domine ut de perceptis muneribus gratias exhibentes beneficia potiora sumamus." This is a Post-Communion prayer which occurs in slightly varying forms in the Roman Missal, and is now used for the Common of a Confessor Pontifex.—[ED.]

## CHAPTER VII.

### *HE IS MADE PROCURATOR OF THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE.*

1173—1180.

Hugh had been ten years a Carthusian, when the important office of Procurator was conferred upon him. His predecessor in these functions, a holy Religious called Guigo, was elected Prior in 1173, when Dom Basil resigned his post as Superior, doubtless that he might prepare for death in solitude and recollection. Guigo II., as we will call him, to distinguish him from the author of the *Constitutions*, chose St. Hugh to succeed him as Procurator. It was a choice that pleased the whole monastery, and the boundless confidence which the new Prior reposed in his Procurator, shows us how worthy St. Hugh was, and how well he fulfilled his duties.

Guigo II., called *the Angel*, on account of his great piety, was a worthy successor of Dom Basil, and gave his monks a bright example of fervour and religious perfection. He occupied himself as little as possible with worldly affairs, and spent most of his time in prayer and contemplation. For this reason, he resigned his post of General of the Order, in 1180, and died the death of a saint eight years afterwards. The miracles which took place at his tomb brought such vast crowds of sick persons to the monastery, that the peace of the Religious was troubled by them. His successor, Dom Jancelin, therefore, ordered the Saint to work no more

miracles, and we are told that his command was obeyed, and that the miracles at once ceased.

Immediately after his nomination as Procurator, Hugh took up his abode in the lower house, where the quarters of the lay-brothers were situated, as they, henceforth, were to be his special charge.

From its first foundation, the Order of Carthusians had comprised two distinct classes of monks, the choir Religious and the lay-brothers. Even among the six first companions of St. Bruno there were two lay-brothers, Andrew and Guérin; and others, who felt that they were called to a less contemplative vocation than that of the choir monks, soon joined them. These good Brothers were of the greatest service to the monastery, as they cultivated the land, took care of the flocks and herds, and followed many useful trades. They lived under a Rule adapted to their exterior occupations, and shared, as much as possible, in the prayers and penances of their choir-brethren. Their virtue and piety are attested by St. Bruno in a letter addressed by him to the monks of the Grande Chartreuse, during his retirement in Calabria.

After congratulating the whole community on their progress in perfection, the holy patriarch continues: "Now I have something to say to you also, my beloved lay-brothers. My soul magnifies the Lord when I consider the immensity of His mercy towards you, worthy imitators, as you are, of the virtues of your Prior. That loving Father is delighted to be able to praise you so highly to me. Let us rejoice with him that, although you have never been initiated in worldly learning, your hearts possess not only the love of God, but a knowledge of His sacred law, which He Himself has written there. Your good works show that you know Him, and love Him. Your obedience is perfect, and obedience is the accomplishment of the commands

of God, the key and the seal of all religious discipline; obedience is always accompanied by deep humility, and continual patience, by the love of God, and by true charity to all. Since you practise this virtue of obedience in such perfection, it is a proof that you have gathered the sweetest and most profitable fruits of the Holy Spirit."

Amongst those to whom these precious words of the holy founder were addressed, there may perhaps have been a young lay-brother who actually survived St. Bruno more than a century, dying in 1204. St. Hugh's biographer speaks of him at some length on account of his intimate association with our Saint both at the Grande Chartreuse and at Witham. We will give a short account here of what he says of this Religious, for nothing can afford a clearer insight into the life and virtues of the early Carthusian lay-brothers.

Brother Aynard—for such was the name of the holy man—had taken an active part in the foundation of several monasteries, and in many countries his zeal and courage, added to his faith and charity, had drawn upon him the admiration of all. One instance alone will give an idea of this. When he was in Spain, assisting in the new foundation at Scala Dei, in the diocese of Tarragona, he formed a great friendship with two pious hermits of the neighbourhood. The Saracens suddenly invaded that part of the country, and after fearful carnage, carried off many prisoners, among whom were the two friends of Brother Aynard. He could not rest until he had obtained permission to go and search for them in Africa. He discovered them at last, and was so successful in ingratiating himself with their master, a rich and powerful man, that he obtained their freedom without paying any ransom. During his stay in the midst of these Mahometans, he fearlessly denounced their errors, and declared the truths of the

Catholic religion. "And this he did with so much authority, that no one dared to contradict him; and as soon as he began to speak, he was listened to with the greatest veneration and respect. His white hair, his powerful voice, his flashing eyes, and the terrible accents in which he denounced sin and oppression, no less than his kindness and gentleness on other occasions, made him revered, even by the enemies of his faith."[1]

At the time when St. Hugh was appointed Procurator, Brother Aynard was at the Grande Chartreuse, resting from the fatigues of his many journeys. He was then already nearly a hundred years old, but he was still so hale and vigorous, that he was selected, in the year 1174, to go to Denmark, and assist in establishing the Carthusian monastery at Lunden. It was then that the following occurrence took place, which well illustrates the strict discipline under which the sons of Bruno lived.

The order to set out upon this expedition was communicated in full Chapter to Brother Aynard, who, we know not why, had conceived a terrible idea of the barbarity of the Danes. Alarmed at this unexpected mission, the old man threw himself at the feet of his Prior, and begged to remain where he was. But hi presence appeared to be so necessary at Lunden, that his prayer could not be granted. For a moment his courage failed him, and he allowed his repugnance to get the better of the duty he owed his Superior. Although he accompanied his refusal to obey with expressions of the deepest sorrow, he was nevertheless treated as a rebel, and in spite of his great age and innumerable services, he was banished from the monastery. Before he was received into favour again, he had to brave the severity of a bitter winter, and travel from

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 13.

one Carthusian monastery to another, begging for pardon, and for letters of recommendation from the Priors of the Order. On his return to the Grande Chartreuse, he still had to perform another penance imposed upon him, and was afterwards sent, not to Denmark, but to England, where we shall find him at Witham, with St. Hugh. There he was brought into close contact with the future Bishop, who always manifested a great veneration for Brother Aynard, and even called him his father, as we shall hear him relate later on.

The new Procurator maintained a firm hand of authority over the lay-brothers, several of whom, being of noble birth, found a difficulty at first in obeying, instead of commanding. He took as his guide the example of St. Honoratus, Archbishop of Arles: "On the one hand, he forced the slothful to rise from their tepidity; and on the other, he restrained the ardour of those who were too fervent, and gave peace to their souls." All the Religious under his charge soon enrolled themselves in the last category. For we are told: "These lay-brothers walked in the footsteps of the choir monks, and imitated them as far as their vocation allowed. Without literary knowledge, they yet understood the sense of the lessons of the Divine Office. Many of them were so well acquainted with the words of the Old and New Testament, that if the reader made a mistake, they were aware of it at once, and if they thought they might take the liberty would cough to draw his attention to it."[1]

St. Hugh deeply regretted the calm of his solitary cell; he had only left it through obedience; but this regret did not hinder him from faithfully fulfilling all the duties of his office. In the temporal affairs, which were now his province, he displayed a rare prudence, and an accuracy of judgment which made his advice

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. i. ch. 10.

valuable to all. Those who consulted him on any matter never had cause to regret their decisions. But when he had ceased speaking of temporal things, he always ended by turning the conversation upon those which are eternal, and so lifted the souls of his hearers above the interests of this world to the thought of Heaven.

He practised the advice given in the Constitutions to the monk who should hold the office of Procurator: "Although the Procurator must in some degree follow the example of Martha, and be occupied with many cares, let him not altogether neglect the silence and peace of the cloister. On the contrary, when the necessary business of the house has been attended to, let him retire to his cell, and there find a safe refuge, where he can read, pray, and meditate, forget the agitation and anxiety of his exterior duties, and prepare in the secret of his heart for the spiritual advice he will have to give to the brethren assembled in Chapter."[1]

In addition to the care of the lay-brothers and servants of the monastery, it was the duty of the Procurator also to welcome and entertain the numerous guests, who already, even in those days, began to visit the lower house. He met them, saluted them, showed them the rooms appointed for their use, unless he considered them worthy of being admitted into the monastery itself, a privilege which for a long time was granted only to Bishops and monks. Strangers received a most favourable impression of his courtesy and kindness, which soon became famous. But, penetrated as he was with the spirit of the Gospel, he had a special predilection for the poor, who well knew their way to the Grande Chartreuse. He joyfully distributed the alms permitted by the Rule, and when he was unable to supply all their wants, spoke to them in words so touching and consoling, that they recalled the language

[1] *Consuetudines Guigonis*, ch. xvi.

of Holy Scripture: "Shall not the dew assuage the heat? so also the good word is better than the gift."[1] The gentle kindness of St. Hugh did not stop here. It was extended even to the birds and squirrels of the forest. He knew how to tame them by his voice; they came round him fearlessly and took food from his hand, while he was making his own meal. It cost him something to relinquish this custom, when it was forbidden by his Prior, who thought it might be a cause of distraction.[2]

Notwithstanding his numerous exterior occupations, he had obtained such command over himself, that he could enter into recollection immediately, at will. When he mounted the steps leading from the lower house, and came into the monastery choir for Divine Office on Sundays and feast-days, he took off his cloak before entering the church, and said, playfully, to his manifold cares: "Stay here with my cloak; when Office is over, I will take you all up again."[3]

He would gladly have been delivered altogether from these cares and allowed to return to the peace of his cell, but his administration was too successful for this favour to be granted. The whole country rang with his praises. The venerable Prior Guigo never ceased congratulating himself on the possession of such a treasure, and delegated to him a substantial part of the burthens of administration. To the monks and lay-brothers his instructions, practical as they were and full of fire and unction, were a treat eagerly looked forward to, and alike among rich visitors and among the poor of the surrounding district, his name was held in benediction. He had spent about seven years in his post of Procurator, and was about forty years of age, when he was again assailed by the same terrible

[1] Ecclus. xviii. 16. [2] Giraldus Camb. ii. 1. *Vita Metrica*, vv. 344—351.
[3] Sutor, *De Vita Cartusiana*, bk. ii. 3—5.

temptation which had before tormented him. The direct action of the devil was plainly to be seen, and our Saint suffered so fearfully under his continual and renewed attacks, that it almost cost him his life. Nevertheless, he did not lose hope, but went on struggling manfully, imploring the help of God, redoubling his prayers and penances, and seeking assistance from the sacraments. At last, through the mercy of God, his deliverance came.

One night, sleepless in his lonely cell, still tempted, and still fighting with the angel of darkness, still almost driven to despair, and still calling upon his crucified Lord to help him, he sank, as the dawn approached, for a few moments into the sleep of utter exhaustion. Thereupon, he saw, coming towards him, the radiant form of his old Prior, Dom Basil, who had died a few days before.[1] In a sweet voice, the glorified Saint said to Hugh: "My son, what are you doing there prostrate and exhausted on the floor? Rise and tell me with confidence what is your necessity." "Oh, my good Father," replied the sufferer, "you who have always shown me such kindness, come to my help in this terrible temptation, or I shall die." "Yes, my son," said Dom Basil, "I have come, on purpose to deliver you." At these words of his Heaven-sent physician, Hugh felt that the wounds of his soul were healed. When the blessed vision had disappeared, he awoke, and the temptation was gone.[2] His strength returned,

[1] The text of the *Magna Vita* followed by Mr. Dimock reads, ante aliquot *annos*—"a few *years* before" This must be wrong, and the copy used by Dom Le Couteulx has *dies*. Mr. Dimock further supposes that Dom Basil died in 1173. He resigned his office in 1173, but lived until 1179. This fact completely upsets Mr. Dimock's chronology, and is referred to below in the note to bk. i. ch. 9.—[ED.]

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. . ch. 2. Another writer, St. Hugh's chaplain tells us, attributed the same miraculous cure to an apparition of the Blessed Virgin, but the holy Bishop of Lincoln himself related it to his biographer as it is given here.

his hopes revived, and so complete was the cure, that in after years he told a friend and confidant, that he had never again been assailed by that especial temptation, or assailed so very slightly, that he was able at once to recognize and overcome it.

Only a few days after this wonderful deliverance, some noble ambassadors from England, headed by the Bishop of Bath, arrived at the Grande Chartreuse. They were the bearers of letters from the King of England, Henry II., demanding our Saint as Prior of the new Carthusian monastery at Witham.

God had humbled His servant, that He might afterwards exalt him. He had convinced St. Hugh of his own nothingness, to make of him the instrument of His mercy. St. James tells us: "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he hath been proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love Him."[1]

[1] St. James i. 12.

## CHAPTER V

### *HENRY II., KING OF ENGLAND, FOUNDS THE CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY OF WITHAM.*

THERE were already more than thirty Carthusian foundations in France, in Italy, in Switzerland, in Spain, in Austria, and in Denmark. When it was the will of God to introduce the holy sons of St. Bruno into England, He made use, as His instrument, of a monarch who was the persecutor of one of His greatest Saints. The foundation of Witham is intimately connected with the death of that brave martyr for the liberty of the Church, St. Thomas of Canterbury. Thus, from his blood, and doubtless through his intercession, there sprang into being a noble progeny to inherit his sacrifice, and to perpetuate his inviolable attachment to the cause of Jesus Christ.

While the holy Archbishop was in the midst of his struggle against the tyranny of Henry II., he had had the consolation of seeing the sons of St. Bruno declare in his favour. They were men who cared little for the favour of princes when truth and justice were at stake. Accordingly Dom Basil, then Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, wrote in his own name and in the name of his religious brethren, the following letter, which deserves a place in history:

"To Henry, King of England, the Brothers of the Carthusian Order.

"To the most excellent and valiant King of the

English, whom they desire to embrace in the charity of Christ, the Carthusian Brothers, who aspire to be poor in spirit, express their hope that he may so reign in this world, that he may obtain an eternal crown.

"The holy man Job, seated like a King in the midst of his armed men, was nevertheless the consoler of the afflicted. As to you, O Prince! the King of kings and Lord of lords has opened His hand, and multiplied your possessions, therefore, you must always remember that awful menace of Holy Scripture: 'To him that is little, mercy is granted: but the mighty shall be mightily tormented.'[1] And the Psalmist exclaims: 'Glory to Him that is terrible, even to Him who taketh away the spirit of princes: to the terrible with the kings of the earth.'[2]

"We hear on all sides, by public rumour alike from the east and from the west, that you are laying a heavy and intolerable burden upon the churches of your kingdom, and that you require of them unheard-of things, things without precedent, or at least, things which the kings who have reigned before you ought never to have insisted upon, although they may sometimes have claimed them.[3] It may be perhaps, that in your time, and on account of the wisdom which God has given you, the evils of such a grievous affliction may be moderated to a certain extent; but after your death, another king may arise, who will devour the Church with open mouth, and who will harden his heart as Pharaoh did, saying: I know not the Lord; neither will I let Israel go.

"Spare, we beseech you, spare your kingly dignity, spare your greatness, spare your royal line, spare the

[1] Wisdom vi. 7. [2] Psalm lxxv. 13.

[3] "Ecclesias regni vestri intolerabiliter affligitis, et exigitis ab eis inaudita quædam et inconsueta, quæ, si quæsierunt, quærere tamen non debuissent antiqui Reges." (From the *Letters of St. Thomas of Canterbury*, bk. ii. letter 70.) The grievances of the Saint are well summed up in these lines.

honour of your name. You, to whom nothing is wanting, and whose power is so vast, do not leave to your descendants an example of tyranny; look with pitying eyes upon the grief and desolation of the Holy Church, which is now almost everywhere trampled underfoot, and console her affliction, like a King, ceasing not to defend and protect her."

This generous proceeding and noble language recalls to our minds the zeal of the first hermits, who, on the approach of persecution, quitted their beloved deserts, to undertake the defence of the truth and to remonstrate eloquently and powerfully with the heathen Emperors.

Those who knew so well how to write their complaints, were considered worthy to plead the cause of the Church by word of mouth. Alexander III. having in vain sent two Cardinals to appease the anger of the King, thought it would be better to try another kind of mediation, which based its hopes of success upon the personal holiness of the mediators. He therefore addressed himself to St. Anthelmus,[1] then Bishop of Belley, and to the General of the Carthusians, Dom Basil, and instructed them to deliver to Henry II. two letters, one of which was couched in more indulgent terms, while the other contained a formal threat to allow the Archbishop of Canterbury to put in force all canonical penalties against the King and his advisers. This second letter was only to be delivered in case the first had no effect.

At the same time the Sovereign Pontiff, fearing lest this deputation might be delayed or prevented by unforeseen circumstances from reaching its destination,

[1] St. Anthelmus, who was also a Carthusian, had been one of St. Hugh s predecessors in the office of Procurator at the Grande Chartreuse. After that he became General of the Order, and later still, Bishop of Belley. He died in 1178.—[Ed.]

sent the same letters with the same instructions to two other Carthusians, Dom Simon, Prior of Mont-Dieu,[1] and Dom Engelbert, Prior of Val-Saint-Pierre.[2] These were the two Religious who executed the orders of the Pope, with as much firmness as prudence. They informed Alexander III. of the result of their endeavours in a letter which runs thus: "In conformity with the commands of Your Holiness, we delivered your letters of admonition to the illustrious King of England, imploring him earnestly to obey your instructions, to receive the Archbishop of Canterbury again into his favour, to restore to him the peaceful possession of his see, and to allow him to govern his Church without interference. We waited a long time in hope, praying God to touch the heart of the King. At last, seeing that all our patience was in vain, we executed your orders and on the occasion of an interview between the two monarchs (of France and England) we delivered to the King of England your letter threatening him with excommunication."

Henry II. would only make evasive replies to the envoys of the Holy See, but he was not offended by their courageous attitude, and conceived a high esteem for the Order to which they belonged.

Every one knows the terrible sequel to these events. St. Thomas à Becket at last obtained permission from the King to return, after his seven years of exile. But on hearing of the first energetic measures of the great Archbishop, Henry II., in one of the fits of passion which were too common with him, exclaimed in the

[1] A Carthusian monastery situated on the River Bar, in the diocese of Rheims. St. Thomas of Canterbury had spent some time there before these negotiations, and was acquainted with Prior Simon. (See *La Chartreuse de Mont-Dieu*, by the Abbé J. Gillet, p. 150. Rheims, 1889.)

[2] A Carthusian monastery in the forest of Thiérache, diocese of Soissons.

hearing of his courtiers: "Will no one deliver me from the insolence of this priest?" Acting upon these words, four knights of the Court at once set out to satisfy what they believed to be the desire of the King; and a few days afterwards, on the evening of the 29th of December, 1170, the holy Archbishop of Canterbury fell dead under their repeated blows, saying with his last breath: "I am ready to die for the Lord; may my blood give the Church liberty and peace."

The tomb of the martyr became so famous through the numerous miracles which took place there, and the indignation of the whole of Europe was so great against his murderers, that the King of England had no peace until he had done public penance for his crime beside the body of his illustrious victim. Then the Bishop of London, speaking in his name, protested before the assembled crowd that the King had never really desired the death of the Primate, but had been the cause of it by his hasty and violent words. The King afterwards received the discipline in public from the hands of the Bishops and monks there present (July 11, 1174).

But before this spontaneous act, the Papal Legates had required several conditions from Henry II. as the price of his reconciliation with God and the Church. The first of these was the revocation of the too famous *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which had formed the principal cause of his quarrel with St. Thomas of Canterbury. Furthermore, the King having made a vow to take the cross and visit the Holy Land for three years, and being afterwards unable to execute this design, he got his vow commuted and founded two Carthusian houses, one at Liget in Touraine, the other at Witham in England.[1]

[1] Dom Le Couteulx, *Annales*, an. 1170 and 1178, vol. ii. pp. 325, 449, seq.

The demesne of Witham, situated in the county of Somerset, and in the diocese of Bath, was of large extent. It was formally made over to the Carthusian Order by their own choice, with its lands and forests, its pastures and preserves, its possessions and privileges of every kind. We still possess the Royal Charter which enumerates these several gifts, and which freed the monastery from all rents and charges payable to the Crown, and from all interference from foresters or their subordinates. In this document Henry II. declares that "for the good of his soul, and of the souls of his predecessors and successors, he builds on his demesne of Witham a house of the Order of Carthusians, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Blessed John the Baptist, and of *All Saints*." This last title was the one which was to distinguish the new foundation.[1]

At the request of the King of England, the first colony of monks was sent over from the Grande Chartreuse in 1178. It was headed by Dom Norbert, and comprised Brother Aynard and Brother Gerard of Nevers.

Severe sufferings awaited the little band at Witham. No preparations had been made for them, and nothing had been done to facilitate the immense labour which the new foundation entailed. A thousand unexpected privations were added to the austerities of their Rule. And to crown their misery, they were received with

[1] The seal of the Charterhouse of Witham represents our Divine Lord on the Cross, between the Blessed Virgin and St. Mary Magdalen. A rich canopy surmounts this group; and below, in a niche, appears an abbot with his crozier. The legend is this: "S. COE DOMUS BE MARIÆ D'WITHAM ORDINIS CARTHUS," i.e., *Sigillum Commune Domus Beatæ Mariæ de Witham, Ordinis Carthusiani.* For further details of Witham, see *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i. p. 959; *Pandectæ Monasteriorum Angliæ;* Pits and Bale, *De Scriptoribus Britanniæ*, Cent. 2, cap. lxiii.; and most recently, E. M. Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians.*

mistrust and dislike by their immediate neighbours, who feared encroachment from the foreign monks. The very site of the proposed monastery was encumbered by the houses of serfs and tenants, whose duty it was to cultivate the royal demesne. No steps had been taken to indemnify these people and settle them elsewhere. To find a little quiet and peace, the poor monks were obliged to build for themselves a few simple wooden huts in the depths of the forest, which they enclosed with a palisade of planks. This temporary arrangement lasted a long time, before any better habitation could be constructed for them. To all these hardships was added the inconvenience of settling among a strange people, whose manners and customs were in many respects at variance with their own, and whose blind prejudices and conflicting interests prevented them from doing justice to the good intentions of the new-comers.

Dom Norbert, accustomed to the peaceful life of his cell, broke down under the weight of all these cares and troubles. He soon returned to the Grande Chartreuse, by the advice of his brothers in Religion, who hoped to see him come back to them again with renewed strength and courage, or else to have his place filled by another Prior, more fitted for so difficult a position. It was this last plan which was adopted at the Grande Chartreuse. Dom Norbert was placed at the head of another house of the Order, and a new Prior was sent to Witham. But he had the same vexations to contend with, and strength and spirit failing, he died a holy death, which released him happily from pain and trouble, but left his devoted little band of brothers in greater desolation than before.

The King of England, on hearing of what had happened, seems to have been somewhat piqued and mortified at this failure of his new foundation. He did not

like to confess himself baffled in an undertaking in which other princes had succeeded. He was ready therefore to welcome a piece of advice which was given him about that time, and which in the end solved the difficulty.

While he was on a visit to his possessions in France, he entered into conversation with a nobleman of Maurienne,[1] to whom he spoke of the Carthusians and their embarrassments in the new foundation, and asked what would be the best step he could take for its success and prosperity. To this the nobleman replied: "My Lord King, there is only one way that I know of, but I am sure it will prove an effectual one. At the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse dwells a monk, a man of distinguished family, but whose character is still more noble than his birth: he is called Hugh of Avalon. He is endowed with every virtue, and beloved by all who know him. You have only to set eyes upon him to feel drawn to become his friend. When he speaks, he is listened to as though his words came from God and the holy Angels. This is the man whom you must get to cultivate and watch over the growing tree of your young foundation; this is the man under whose care it will soon bear fruit in abundance. The whole Church in England, I am sure, will feel itself ennobled by the sanctity of this holy Religious. But I must tell you beforehand, that you will have great difficulty in inducing his brother-monks to part with him, and he himself will never give his consent unless he is constrained by the voice of obedience. You must therefore

[1] In 1173, Humbert III., Count of Maurienne, was one of the arbitrators who endeavoured to compose the differences between Henry II. and the Count of St. Giles, the brother of Raymond of Toulouse. On this occasion, a treaty of marriage was entered into between Henry's son John, who was afterwards King, and Agnes, Humbert's daughter, who died a year later in 1174. It is not surprising therefore to find noblemen of Maurienne frequenting the English Court.

send ambassadors who have the tact and energy which are needful, and you must use all the influence you can bring to bear to gain your end. He is the one man who can deliver you from all your anxieties, and who will make his holy Order flourish in your kingdom, so that it will be a lasting monument to the glory of your Majesty. You will find him perfect in sweetness and patience, in greatness of soul and consideration for all. No one will ever complain of having him as a neighbour; no one will shrink from him as a foreigner; but every one will treat him as a fellow-countryman, as a brother, and a friend. For he carries the whole human race in his heart, and loves all men with the love of perfect charity." [1]

Thus spoke the lord of Maurienne. The King listened to him with attention, and thanked him warmly. And without losing any time, he acted upon the advice he had received, and sent a deputation to the Grande Chartreuse. Reginald, surnamed the Lombard, Bishop of Bath,[2] was at their head, and he was accompanied by several other persons of high rank, and of great wisdom and experience.

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. i.

[2] Reginald Fitz-Jocelyn was named Bishop in 1173, and consecrated the year following by Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury—St. Peter, Archbishop of Tarentaise, being present—in the Church of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne. He was called the Lombard because he had been educated in Lombardy, but he was an Englishman by birth. In 1178, he was appointed Papal Legate to deal with the heretics of Toulouse, and died in 1192, just as he had been elected Archbishop of Canterbury. In the account of Bishop Reginald given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it is stated that Reginald went to the Grande Chartreuse in 1174, immediately after his consecration. This must certainly be an error; for the foundation of Witham was only undertaken upon the non-fulfilment of the vow of joining the Crusade; and Henry having obtained a three years' respite from the Pope, would seem not to have given up the idea of this Crusade before 1177. (See Giraldus Cambrensis, Rolls Series, vol. viii. pp. 167—170.) It seems probable that Bishop Reginald visited the Chartreuse on his way back from the Lateran Council in 1180. (Cf. the notice of his life in *Archæologia*, vol. l.)—[ED.]

## Note to Book I. Chapter VIII.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Ralph Niger, and other contemporaries, represent King Henry II. as having sworn to found *three* religious houses in compensation for his abandonment of the Crusade imposed as a penance for the murder of St. Thomas, and they say nothing of the Charterhouse at Liget. Both the two first-named writers comment severely upon the scandalous way in which, as they allege, Henry evaded the obligation. According to them, he made the substitution of regular canons for seculars at Waltham count as one foundation, and for another he expelled the nuns of Amesbury upon some charge of irregularity, true or false, and replaced them with a colony from Fontevraud. As for the third, Giraldus professes not to know which that could have been, but supposes it must have been the Charterhouse at Witham. Henry II., as we shall see, became a devoted admirer and friend of St. Hugh, and it cannot be wholly foreign to the purpose of this biography to point out that the charge thus made against the King, though repeated apparently without suspicion by such an historian as Bishop Stubbs, is based upon little more than malicious gossip. The tradition that both Witham and Liget were founded by Henry as part of the penance enjoined upon him for the murder of St. Thomas, seems to stand out quite clearly in the early Carthusian chronicles.[2] We do not know which was the third foundation, but the Index to Dugdale's *Monasticon* shows that there is quite a respectable list of religious houses established by Henry II. in England, and even though these are for the most part

[1] See Stubbs, Preface to *Benedict of Peterborough* (Rolls Series), vol. ii. p. xxx. ; and Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls Series), vol. viii. p. xxvi. and 170.

[2] See the MS. authorities quoted by Dom Le Couteulx (*Annales*, vol. ii. pp. 459, 451), and it must be remembered that Dom Le Couteulx himself wrote more than two hundred years ago.

small and unimportant, they at least show that Giraldus and Ralph Niger are in this matter only retailing scandal, not writing serious history. Furthermore, there can be no question that Henry II. founded other monasteries in his continental dominions. Dom Le Couteulx, for instance, states that he entirely built the Priory of St. Julian, near Rouen, which at a later date passed into Carthusian hands, and that he is also styled founder of the Cistercian Abbey of Valasse, in the same diocese. With regard to the Charterhouse of Le Liget (de Ligeto), near Loches in Touraine, we are told that at the end of the last century the following inscription might be read over the principal door of the monastery:

Anglorum Henricus Rex Thomæ cæde cruentus
Ligeticos fundat Carthusiæ monachos.

Although there has been some controversy about the exact date of the foundation,[1] M. Carré de Busserolle agrees in thinking that although the Carthusians may have had the idea of establishing themselves there as early as 1170, the actual foundation was not made before 1178.[2] Two charters are preserved connecting this establishment with Henry II. The first is a grant made by Harvey, Abbot of Villeloin, at the instance of Henry II., bestowing upon the Carthusians the territory of Liget, *cum pertinenciis suis*. The document mentions that in return for this cession of land, the King of England had paid to the Abbot a sum of one hundred pounds, and had released him from the burthen of furnishing two hawks. This deed seems to belong to the year 1178. Somewhat later, about the year 1187, we have another instrument drawn up in the name of Henry II., confirming the Carthusians in the possession

[1] Cf. Dom. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiani*, vol. ii. p. 452.

[2] *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique, &c. de la Province de Touraine*, vol. iv. pp. 53, seq.

of this territory, and releasing them from all dues and services which had formerly been paid upon it. This foundation of Le Liget was afterwards confirmed by King John in 1199.

The unfairness of Giraldus' account of Henry's religious foundations has previously been noticed by Miss Kate Norgate, *England under the Anglian Kings*, vol. ii. p. 198, note. But I should be curious to know on what authority she states that "throughout his whole dominions only six religious houses in the strict sense could claim him as their founder." She certainly does not include in this list the Priory of St. Julian and the Abbey of Valasse.— [ED.]

## CHAPTER IX.

### *ST. HUGH AS PRIOR OF WITHAM.*

1180.

The Ambassadors from the King of England took the precaution of securing the assistance of the Venerable Bishop of Grenoble, who was also a Carthusian; his name was Jean de Sassenage.[1] They persuaded him to accompany them to the Grande Chartreuse, and to lend his support to the request they were commissioned to make.

As soon as they arrived at the monastery, they presented the Prior with letters from the King, soliciting the despatch of St. Hugh to England. To this written message they added the strongest and most persuasive words. But, in spite of their eloquence, they perceived that their request caused the deepest sorrow to the whole community. The Prior especially was very much distressed, and asked that time might be given him to deliberate upon the course which he ought to adopt.

A consultation in full Chapter was then held, in which the opinion of each individual monk was taken. The Prior, Dom Guigo, who spoke first, made formal opposition to the King's request. As to the rest of the

[1] Jean de Sassenage was appointed Bishop in 1156, and died in 1219. To the end he displayed the same spirit of piety and gentleness which is so highly commended by St. Hugh's biographer: *Erat piissimus et monachus valde honestus et mansuetus.* (*Magna Vita*, bk. ii. c. 4. Cf. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ord. Carthus.* vol. iii. p. 436.)

monks, opinions were divided. Some were unwilling that a man of so much merit should be sent out of the country, as they considered him to be more useful to the Order at large by remaining where he was; others declared that the King's demand had been inspired by God, and that it was not prudent to return a refusal. Among these last was Dom Bovo, who succeeded Hugh later on, as Prior of Witham,[1] and who gave an account of all these events to the Saint's biographer. "Do you not see," said Dom Bovo, "that Providence is thus disposing all things, to make the sanctity of our Order shine forth throughout the world, in the person of our beloved brother? Do not imagine that it will be possible for us to keep him hidden here much longer, under the bushel of our obscurity? Believe me, in a very short time you will hear of his being placed on a candlestick, as a bright and shining light, and illuminating the whole Church. The virtues of Dom Hugh have accustomed me for a long time to look upon him as a Bishop, rather than a monk."

At last Hugh himself was asked for his opinion, and told to speak freely. He replied thus: "I have learned to renounce my own will, and to look on it as of no account, but since you ask me what I think, I will tell you frankly. Since I have been in this holy house, where your admonitions and example have helped me so greatly, I have not been able, for one single day, to govern my own soul. How can you then suggest that I should be sent away from you, into a strange land, to govern the souls of others? How can I found a new Chartreuse, when I have not been able myself to keep the precepts of our Fathers? If you will allow me to tell you respectfully what I think, I will say that such a

[1] Dom Bovo was Prior of Witham until 1200. He then retired to the Grande Chartreuse, and died there shortly afterwards, on the 10th of December. He had been a Carthusian for more than fifty years.

proposal cannot be seriously entertained for a moment, and that there is nothing in it which calls for deliberation like this. Let there be an end of the matter as far as I am concerned, but do you, my brothers, hasten to choose, either from among yourselves, or from some other community of our Order, a man who will be capable of doing all the King requires: send him to England with the Ambassadors. Make a wise reply to these wise envoys; tell them that you are giving them a better gift than they have asked for, and that, instead of the man whom they named by mistake, you are sending them the one they would really have chosen, had they known of him. In this way their desires will be satisfied, and they will rejoice at the exchange."

This humble answer, far from having the desired effect, only served to show Hugh's virtue to greater advantage. The two Bishops and their companions persevered in their request, and finally succeeded in persuading all, with the exception of the Prior. The Saint, therefore, saw but one way of escaping from the arguments brought to bear against him; he said that he would be guided by the decision of his Prior, who, as he knew, would never willingly let him go. The Bishop of Grenoble then took Dom Guigo on one side, and implored him to consent to this sacrifice. "God is my witness," replied he, "that such a sentence shall never pass my lips. Never will I command Dom Hugh to abandon me in my old age, and to plunge our whole community into mourning." But at last, overcome by the repeated petitions of all, the Prior turned to the Bishop of Grenoble and said: "I can never willingly send Dom Hugh from me, but I leave the matter in your hands; do as you will, and I will abide by your decision. You are our Bishop, our Father, and our Brother. If you command him to depart, I will make no further opposition."

He could say no more, for tears choked his utterance, and all those present shared the emotion which he felt. But a decision had to be come to, and the Bishop of Grenoble was urged to speak his mind. "My beloved brethren," said this venerable prelate, "it is not for me to teach you the ways of God. You know them better than I, and your lives are the proof of it. And so I will only recall to your remembrance an event in the life of the great St. Benedict, which will show you how those who have gone before you have acted under the like circumstances. When the blessed Bertram, Bishop of Le Mans, induced St. Benedict to send him his especially loved son St. Maurus, to undertake the foundation of a new monastery, there was the same deep grief and the same reluctance on the part of his brothers in Religion to part with Maurus as you are now experiencing. But St. Benedict gently reproved them for their display of feeling, and he pointed out that it was wrong to grieve over the will of the Divine Master. 'Beware,' said he, 'do not give way to your sorrow. It may be that, in combating this choice, you are only setting yourselves in opposition to Almighty God Himself.'[1]

"For you, my beloved brother Hugh, the moment has come when you must follow Him in whose footsteps you have always desired to tread. The only Son of the Eternal Father, quitting the ineffable tranquillity He enjoyed in the bosom of the Blessed Trinity, clothed Himself in our human nature for the salvation of the world. You also must make the sacrifice of your quiet cell, and of the companionship of the brothers whom you love. Do not hesitate to make it bravely, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. He will reward you after this exile, in His Kingdom of perfect happiness and rest. In His name, I, His unworthy servant,

[1] Cf. Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, January 15th.

command you to depart, for His greater glory, for the remission of your sins, and for your everlasting welfare. I command you formally, in virtue of holy obedience, to accept the charge that is laid upon you. Depart in peace, with these venerable Ambassadors who have come so far to seek you. Go to England, to build up and govern our new foundation at Witham."

Perceiving that the Bishop's decision was unalterable, Hugh, without another word, embraced his brothers in Religion, and placed himself at the disposition of the English ambassadors.

A few days after he was presented to Henry II., who received him very graciously, and sent him with an honourable escort to Witham. There he was welcomed with great joy by the suffering monks, who looked upon him as an angel of God, sent for their deliverance. And their hopes were not doomed to disappointment on this occasion, for from that day the monastery of Witham was to be all that its name implied. *Witham*, as Hugh's contemporary biographer reminds us, is wit-home, "the house of wisdom." He who was henceforth to be the guide and Superior there, was "a truly wise Christian, and he was destined to draw to himself other wise souls whose thoughts and aspirations were fixed upon Heaven alone."[1]

## Note to Book I. Chapter IX.

While it is not compatible with the scope of the present work to enter at any length into questions of chronology, it seems desirable to justify the date which the author of the Life here translated has prefixed to this chapter. There can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Dimock, in fixing upon the year 1175 as the epoch of St. Hugh's coming to Witham, has fallen into a

[1] *Magna Vita*, book ii. c. 5.

somewhat serious error, and that the Saint did not really set foot in England until nearly five years later. In this mistake Mr. Dimock has been followed by all subsequent English writers—by Canon Perry, Miss Thompson, the contributors to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, &c.; but they seem to have accepted his conclusions without examining the evidence, and the data now available from several independent sources may be considered to put the year 1175 entirely out of court.

1. The foundation of Witham was undertaken as a commutation of Henry's promise to go to the Holy Land. The period assigned for the fulfilment of this enterprise was the three years which began with Christmas, 1172.[1] It is distinctly asserted by Giraldus and others that after the three years had elapsed (*elapso triennio*), and Henry had as yet taken no step to set out on the Crusade, he obtained a further delay from the Pope upon his binding himself to erect three religious houses.[2] This would have been after the beginning of 1176, and it is not likely that the man whom Giraldus calls *dilator in omnibus* will even then have been in any hurry to perform his promise. Moreover, after the Carthusians had come to Witham, two different Priors broke down before St. Hugh was sent there.

2. The vision of Prior Basil, who supernaturally aided St. Hugh in his grievous temptation, took place before the Saint left the Grande Chartreuse. Now, Prior Basil died in 1179[3] (not 1173, as stated in Mr. Dimock's note, p. 58), and the MS. of the *Magna Vita* which Dom Le Couteulx had before him, states that

[1] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, vol. vii. p. 517.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. viii. p. 170.

[3] This date seems, from Dom Le Couteulx's *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 465, to be established upon independent evidence by the early chroniclers of the Order.

the vision occurred a few *days*, not years, as in Mr. Dimock's text, after his death.

3. A document in the Bruton Cartulary assigns the foundation of Witham Priory to the twenty-eighth year of Henry II., *i.e.*, 1181.[1] This can be reconciled with the supposition that Hugh came to England in 1180, but hardly with his arrival five years earlier.

4. Although the Charter of the foundation of Witham is not dated, it gives the names of the witnesses, and amongst these are to be found the names of William, Bishop of Norwich, and Prince John. Now, William of Norwich was not consecrated until December, 1175, and in December, 1175, Prince John was just nine years old. It seems hardly likely that his name would be enrolled amongst the witnesses of a charter until he was twelve or fourteen. Moreover, the other witnesses include several lawyers, most of whom, *e.g.*, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, did not come into prominence until the close of Henry's reign.

5. There is good reason to believe that Le Liget,

[1] The memorandum thus preserved is curiously elaborate in its attempt to fix the date of the first foundation of Witham. Seeing that the time thus determined agrees perfectly with the year which we arrive at from other quite independent considerations, there can be no reason for suspecting its genuineness. It runs thus: "In the year of grace 1181, dominical letter D, in the seventeenth paschal feast, being the nones of April in the second year after leap year, the eleventh from the passion of St. Thomas, Pope Alexander ruling the holy Roman Church in the twenty-second year of his pontificate, the venerable father Baldwyn presiding over the church of Canterbury, and also Reginald called Ytalicus being bishop of Bath, Ralf de Clanville, then chief justice of England, Geoffrey fitz Peter, then justice of the forest, by the illustrious King Henry II., in the year of his age forty-nine, and of his reign twenty-eight, the house of the Carthusian Order in the desert (*heremo*), of Wytham was newly founded. . . . After the said house was founded, the King wished the Carthusians there to be free from all exaction and secular strife, according to their custom, wherefore he conferred upon the Prior and Convent (of Bruton) the church of Suthperton in recompence for the said chapel," &c. (Somerset Record Society, *Bruton Cartulary*, p. 102.)

the other Carthusian priory founded by Henry in execution of his promise, was begun in 1178.[1] The Carthusian chronicler assigns the commencement of both to the same year. This allows two years to have been spent by the Carthusians in an abortive attempt to establish themselves before St. Hugh arrived, and also agrees perfectly with the data of the best text of the *Magna Vita*, that St. Hugh was sixty years of age at his death, and was forty before he left the Grande Chartreuse.—[ED.]

[1] Cf. Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 449.

## CHAPTER X.

### *THE BUILDING OF THE NEW CARTHUSIAN MONASTERY AT WITHAM.*

The first duty of the new Prior of Witham was to get his monastery built, overcoming the obstacles which had daunted his predecessors. Not only had no beginning yet been made, but no definite plan had been adopted for its construction. They had not settled where the two churches were to be, the monastery proper, with its cloisters and cells for the monks, the lower house, with its guest-chambers and its quarters for the lay-brothers; in short, the whole system of buildings which were required to make a perfect Carthusian monastery, after the model of the Grande Chartreuse, had not yet even been thought of.

Hugh attentively studied the surrounding country and its inhabitants; he carefully considered what steps were best to be taken, and with that clear intuition which distinguished him, prepared his plans, and submitted them for the King's approbation, in accordance with his previous arrangement. Henry II. admired his prudence and moderation, adopted his plans, and graciously promised to grant all that was needed to carry them out.

The first step of St. Hugh was to assemble all the tenants before him, as the possession of their land was necessary, before he could commence the building of the monastery, and obtain the quiet and repose which were indispensable for such a foundation. In the

King's name he offered to those who were thus being evicted a choice of two forms of compensation, either that they should be allowed to occupy, in other manors belonging to the Crown, farms and pastures on the same terms as those they held at Witham; or else, that they should be freed from serfdom and allowed to settle wherever they pleased. Some accepted other grants of land; others chose their liberty.

Hugh, with his usual charity, wished to do still more, and requested the King to indemnify them for any buildings they had erected, or any improvements they had made. He asked that they might receive full compensation for all these things, so that they might depart willingly, and the Carthusians enter with a clear conscience upon the land which they had occupied. The King was inclined to raise difficulties on this score, but St. Hugh pressed his point with as much firmness as gentleness. "My Lord King," he said, "so long as a single penny remains unpaid of what is justly due to these poor people, I refuse to take possession of Witham." The King had to give way, although he was not particularly well pleased with this purchase of tumble-down shanties and sheep-pens, but we can imagine the satisfaction and joy of the tenants, and the blessings they invoked upon their monarch and his counsellor.

St. Hugh, however, was not yet satisfied. To have won bare justice for his clients was a very small triumph for a generous heart like his. By an innocent stratagem, he thought he saw his way to a further victory. "Well now, sire, you see," he said, jestingly, "what a rich man I am making you, I a poor foreigner. Thanks to me you have become the owner of many houses upon your own lands." "Very true," returned the King, with a smile, "but I cannot say that I am anxious to get rich in that fashion. Your riches have almost

made a bankrupt of me; and what possible purpose can such purchases serve?" "Oh, come," said Hugh, "I see you don't value your bargain. If your Majesty then would perform an act which will do you honour, give these homesteads to me, for I have not yet even a roof over my head." Full of astonishment, the King stared at his petitioner. "What an extraordinary man you must be!" he exclaimed; "do you suppose that we have not the means of building a monastery for you perfectly new. What can you want with these old cabins?" "It is not fitting," replied the Prior, "that the King's Majesty should condescend to trouble himself about such insignificant details. It is the first favour I have asked for myself. How can you hesitate to grant such a modest request at once?" "Well," said the King, "I never saw anything like this before. Here is a perfect stranger who comes and almost takes my property from me by force. It seems I had better do as he bids for fear he should exact still harder conditions."

It was thus with not too ill a grace that Henry gave way before the audacity of this bold diplomatist. St. Hugh on his part at once presented the buildings again to their former possessors, that they might either make use of the materials or sell them. Nothing could have been more delicate or ingenious than the charity thus shown to the tenants who had been evicted, and it succeeded, as it deserved, in banishing at once and for ever the prejudices which had been felt against the foreign monks.

The building of the monastery was now at last commenced, and soon made rapid progress. Already the most important part was finished, and there only remained some other details to be completed, less important, but equally necessary, when the funds again ran short.

The King's attention was engaged elsewhere, and the troubled state of his affairs in general had effaced the thought of Witham from his memory. There was no money to pay the workmen, who wearied the Prior and his monks by their reiterated complaints.

Hugh sent some of his brothers to inform the King of all this and to implore assistance. The King received them graciously enough, promised to interest himself on their behalf, and to do all they asked; but he sent them back empty-handed, with promises alone. The expected help did not arrive, and it was necessary to put a stop to the work of building altogether.

The holy Prior preserved his patience and kept silence for some time, hoping that the King would redeem his promise. At length he sent another deputation, who were received in the same manner with the same promises—but nothing more. Then discouragement and despair seized upon the monks, just as had happened before when Witham was first granted to them. Some of them even dared to rebuke their Prior, and accuse him of negligence and want of energy. They said it was his duty to go himself to the King and make his request in person.

The boldest of these censors who thus dictated to St. Hugh, was one Brother Gerard of Nevers, a man of great austerity and fervent piety, who had no fear of King or potentate of this world, but who had not learnt sufficiently how to moderate his zeal, or control his tongue. He knew that Henry II. was in the habit of breaking his promises, and felt certain that without very energetic measures the foundation of the monastery would never be accomplished. For the matter of that, he was quite ready to go himself to the King, and was prepared to expostulate in the strongest terms.

Brother Gerard's vehemence was perhaps not un-

natural, and it will surprise us the less if we make allowances for the noble blood which flowed in his veins. One of his relatives, William, Count of Nevers, had been the friend and adviser of King Louis VII. of France, before retiring from the world to end his days as a lay-brother at the Grande Chartreuse. Nor did he ever hesitate to reprove King Louis, whenever he considered reproof to be advisable. The author of the *Magna Vita* has left us an amusing picture of King Louis trying ineffectually to shuffle away a chess-board on one occasion when this mentor was unexpectedly announced, and being roundly scolded in consequence for his duplicity. Needless to say that the same austere spirit accompanied William of Nevers to the cloister, and his mortifications in his Carthusian days are described in terms which modern sensitiveness shrinks from repeating.

Gerard of Nevers, who was his near relative and possibly his son, must have been a man of very similar temperament. Nevertheless, although his complaints to St. Hugh may be excused in some measure on that account, they seem to have been sufficiently bitter. "How long, Dom Prior," he would say, "do you intend to have patience with this King? Why do you not tell him plainly that if he does not fulfil his promises and finish our monastery we will return to our own country? Do you not observe that the reputation of our Order is at stake, and that we are being made ridiculous? If your natural modesty prevents you from speaking to this monarch as he deserves to be spoken to, take me with you, and you shall hear the terms in which I will address him."

The Prior, knowing the good intentions of this plain-speaking Brother, listened to him calmly, and assembled all the monks in consultation. It was unanimously agreed that the Prior should set out to remonstrate with

the King, and that Brother Gerard should accompany him. "Since this is the advice of you all," said St. Hugh, "I will adopt it. But remember, Brother Gerard, if you speak plainly you must also speak with moderation. The King's designs, as I have reason to know, are not easily fathomed, and it may be that he is only wishing to try us before granting our request. He knows that by our profession we are bound to act upon these words of our Divine Lord: 'In your patience you shall possess your souls;'[1] and that other exhortation of St. Paul: 'Let us exhibit ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience.'[2] Now it is only by bearing adversities and contradictions for a long time that we can prove we possess this virtue; without long-suffering, patience is not great, but small and of no duration; without gentleness, patience cannot exist."

St. Hugh set out from Witham, accompanied by Brother Gerard and Brother Aynard, the last-named being full of courage in spite of his old age. The King received the three monks with great respect and veneration, and, as before, when they spoke to him of Witham, made every conceivable promise of assistance, excusing himself for his delay, and assuring them that the monastery should soon be finished. But he still avoided giving the supplies demanded; nor did he appoint any specific time for sending them.

Then Brother Gerard could no longer contain his indignation. "My Lord King," he said, "you may do exactly as you please: you may finish our monastery, or abandon it altogether; we will have nothing more to do with it. As for myself, I mean to say farewell to you, and to leave your kingdom. I shall return to the desert of the Chartreuse. Do you think you are doing us a favour by doling out your bread to us with such a niggard hand? We have no need of your charity.

[1] St. Luke xxi. 19. [2] 2 Cor. vi. 4.

It is far better for us to return to our barren rocks in the Alps, than to have to haggle with a man who thinks that every penny spent upon the salvation of his soul is wasted and thrown away. Let him keep the money, which he clings to so fondly, until he has to give it up for good and all to some spendthrift heir or other. Neither Jesus Christ nor His servants will condescend to touch it."

These were the sort of compliments which Brother Gerard thought fit to address to a monarch like Henry II. While he was speaking so passionately, Hugh endeavoured vainly to silence him, or to keep him within due bounds. The old baronial spirit broke loose, and, strong in the holiness of his cause, he gave way to all the natural impetuosity of his character, and redoubled his reproaches, instead of moderating them. The good Prior was overwhelmed with confusion, and could never afterwards recall the scene without a shudder. The King remained apparently unmoved, he answered not a word, and listened calmly to the storm of rebuke until it had come to an end. At last Brother Gerard stopped. A dead silence prevailed for several minutes, during which Henry II. looked fixedly at the holy Prior, who bowed down his head in silence. Then the King spoke: "And you, good man, what are your intentions? Will you also take yourself off and leave my kingdom?" "No, my lord and King," replied St. Hugh, meekly; "I will not leave you. I do not despair of you. Rather do I feel great pity for you. You have so many cares; you are overwhelmed with business, which hinders you from thinking of the interests of your soul. Other occupations are absorbing your thoughts now; but when God gives you time for reflection, you will do all you have promised; you will bring the good work you have begun to a happy

conclusion." "As I hope for salvation," exclaimed the King, embracing the Prior as he spoke, "I swear that you shall never leave my kingdom as long as I live. It is from you that I will seek advice for my soul's good; it is with your aid that I will make resolutions for the future."

With that the King sent for, on the spot, and put into the hands of the Prior the sum of money that was necessary for the completion of the monastery, giving directions that the work should be proceeded with immediately. Thus did the gentleness of St. Hugh gain a signal victory over the King, and a victory all the more remarkable, because the King, who was naturally irascible, had been provoked beyond measure by the violence of Brother Gerard. Nor must we imagine that St. Hugh could not also, when the occasion demanded, speak firmly and vigorously. When there was question, not of asking relief for himself, but of asserting the rights of the Church of God, we shall see him take quite another attitude, and display an indomitable courage.

The Monastery of Witham was therefore completed at last, and the Carthusians were able to enjoy there the same peace and seclusion as in the desert solitude they had quitted, when they came to England.[1] Few

[1] It would seem that at the time the Carthusian foundation was made, the manor of Witham was not in the immediate possession of the Crown, but was partly in the hands of the Malet family, partly occupied by the Austin Canons of Bruton, who had a chapel at Witham itself. These two interests had to be purchased, and the Bruton Canons received in exchange the advowson of South Petherton, while Ralph Malet was compensated by a grant of land in the hundred of North Curry. Very probably these transactions took place before St. Hugh arrived upon the scene. Witham lay partly or entirely within the forest of Selwood, and the Priory was sometimes known by the name of Selwood, but although the district was somewhat thinly populated and is called *eremus* in Henry's Charter, it was not a desert like the Grande Chartreuse itself. It would seem that "the great high road from Old Sarum across Mendip skirted it on the north and east." (See an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1896, vol. xlii. p. 391.)—[ED.]

remains are left at this day of the first English Charterhouse; but there is every reason for believing that the present ancient church of the town of Witham is one of the two erected by St. Hugh. It is small, of oblong shape, and of a severe style of architecture, such as befitted an Order of solitaries.[1] The church has an apse at its eastern end, and a vaulted stone roof. In the last century a few buildings were still to be seen, which had escaped the general destruction under Henry VIII.,[2] and some remains of these may be traced in the walls of a farm-house that is built on the same site. The ruins, which were destroyed in 1764, gave an idea of the extent of the monastery, and emphasized the devastation wrought by the schismatic King, who had so little shame in pulling down the work which his predecessors had built up.

## Note to Book I. Chapter X.

Miss E. M. Thompson, in her painstaking volume, *A History of the Somerset Carthusians*, remarks of Witham Church: "In A.D. 1458, the Prior of Witham petitioned Bishop Beckington to be allowed to put the 'chapel of the Friary' (*i.e.*, the lay-brothers' chapel) to the uses of a parish church for the secular persons living within the bounds of the Priory. Upon the suppression, this

[1] It is in the transition style of that epoch (1176—1186). As the *Vita Metrica* (verse 448) speaks of *pillars*, we may conclude that the principal church, that of the choir-monks, had aisles on each side of the nave, and consequently that it is the church of the lay-brothers which has been preserved. [This conjecture of the Carthusian author is certainly correct. See note at end of the chapter.] The *Vita Metrica* speaks also of the stone vaulting constructed by St. Hugh:

> "*Nam testudo riget sursum*, pariesque deorsum,
> Non putrescibili ligno, sed perpeti saxo."

[2] *Monasticon Anglic.* ii. 3. Preface to the English edition of the *Magna Vita*, p. xxii.

chapel, like others elsewhere, was probably spared because it had really become by this time the parish church for the people of the district. This little Church of St. Mary of Charterhouse, Witham—its severe style of architecture harmonizing with the ascetic life of its builders, redeemed from ugliness within by the beautiful concentration of the arches of the stone roof—is the sole relic still in some measure devoted to its original holy uses, not only of the first English Carthusians, but also of the whole branch of the Order in England. Not the least significant note of the vast difference between their age and the present, is that this church—built, if ever church was, that it might be the house of prayer—stands with locked doors during the long intervals between the hours of service, when it may indeed be entered, but by the sight-seer, and not by the would-be worshipper." The same writer adds in a note: "About sixty years ago the little church underwent a strange transformation. Some of the adjacent buildings, which had not been pulled down before, were removed, and an incongruous square tower was erected at the west end in an entirely different style of architecture. At the same date, an old and beautifully carved wood-screen of oak was ruthlessly destroyed; the entrance to the loft above it, with the steps formed in the thickness of the masonry, may still be seen in the north wall of the interior. In the same wall, a few feet farther to the west, there is a blocked entrance to a passage which Collinson, the author of the *History of Somerset*, described, in A.D. 1791, as winding round the east end of the church and leading to the monastery, and the traces of which were probably also removed during these alterations. In 1876, Mr. Burney, the then parish priest [*lege* clergyman] of Witham, with a wiser spirit of restoration, took down the tower, and enlarged the church westwards in a style in keeping

with its original architecture, at the same time raising the outer roof and covering it with red tiles."

The architecture of Witham Church is of particular interest on account of its assumed relation to that portion of Lincoln Cathedral which was built by St. Hugh. On this head something will be said later on. For the present it is sufficient to note that in the article in *Archæologia* on "the English Origin of Gothic Architecture," by Mr. J. H. Parker, vol. xliii. p. 86, an engraving is given of the interior of Witham Church. There is also a sketch in Miss E. M. Thompson's work just quoted.[1]—[Ed.]

[1] Further information about Witham may be found in the Somerset Archæological Society's Proceedings, vol xii. (1863), p. 35, and vol. xxi (1875), p. 30; *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii. p. 48, and vol. l. pp 307, 308

## CHAPTER XI.

*THE CONFIDENCE OF KING HENRY II. IN ST. HUGH.*

"The possessions of Henry II. were very extensive," the biographer of St. Hugh tells us, "besides England and the greater part of Ireland, he ruled over Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and numerous other dependencies. Now, in the whole of this vast territory, there was no man to whom he listened, as he listened to the Prior of Witham."[1]

The King of England had kept his word; he had given St. Hugh his entire confidence. Ever since the interview in which he had declared that he chose the Prior of Witham as his special adviser, he was continually seeking him out and wishing to profit by his opinion. He confided all his secrets to St. Hugh, and showed him such particular affection that the courtiers were amazed at it. Not knowing how to explain such conduct, they spread about the most absurd and false reports, declaring that the Prior of Witham must be one of the King's illegitimate sons. And long afterwards, at the time of the death of Henry's son and successor, Richard Cœur de Lion, the chaplain of St. Hugh was still obliged to contradict the story in conversing with some of the Bishop's visitors. We know not if the servant of God ever took any trouble himself to refute this falsehood, but we shall see as we go on how he scorned such a title to greatness, and

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. vii.

how he showed no less horror for the vices of kings than for those of the meanest of the people.

But the trust which Henry II. reposed in the Saint had a more creditable cause than the courtiers either imagined or were capable of understanding. He had learnt wisdom from his disputes with St. Thomas of Canterbury; he felt old age to be approaching; he longed for counsel and comfort in the many grievous trials he had to bear from his rebellious sons; and hence he began truly and earnestly to think of the salvation of his soul. Although he had been a persecutor of the Church, he was not an unbeliever, and at certain times especially he felt the need of having near him a man of God, to show him what his duty was, and to encourage him to do it. This was why he sought the society of St. Hugh.[1] He found there none of the flattery and adulation with which his courtiers sated him, but in its place, he was able to enjoy the charm of elevated thoughts couched in language full of sincerity and good sense, and so framed as to expose, not to disguise, the truth. The Prior of Witham was never weary of giving good advice to the King, and in such a manner as to make it most acceptable. He spoke to him of his soul, of his family, of his subjects, of all that could tend to the glory of God, the happiness of his people, and the maintenance of peace. He knew how to choose the right moment to obtain an important decision, how to "reprove, entreat, rebuke, in all patience and doctrine."[2] Sometimes he gave forcible reasons for the course of action he was suggesting; sometimes he brought forward the examples of famous men in the past; sometimes

[1] The Carthusian Monastery of Witham was on the outskirts of Selwood Forest, in which Henry II. used often to hunt. This furnished an opportunity for his frequent interviews with the Saint.

[2] 2 Timothy iv. 2.

he was modestly reticent, at others vehement and inflexible. It was in vain for the King to fortify himself against the eloquence of his saintly counsellor; he always had to confess himself vanquished in the end.

Hugh did not take advantage of his influence over the King to mix himself up with worldly affairs. He kept aloof from all political intrigue, and left the care of earthly interests to earthly souls; but in all matters relating to the Church or the poor, he never affected to be indifferent. The abuses which had so excited the indignation of St. Thomas of Canterbury had not entirely disappeared. If the Church in England was now enjoying comparative peace, through the prayers of her illustrious martyr, she was still far from having regained all her freedom. The disastrous Constitutions of Clarendon had been solemnly repudiated by Henry II., but they were still too often put in practice.

Two flagrant abuses of power especially grieved the holy Prior of Witham. The King continued to seize upon vacant bishoprics and other ecclesiastical benefices, to keep them in his possession a long time and to appropriate their revenues. After having thus prolonged the widowhood of these churches, he arrogated to himself the right of appointing new pastors, contrary to the just requirements of canonical elections. Hugh strongly opposed this usurpation, and proved that it could not be justified by any precedent in the time of the predecessors of Henry II. He also inveighed against the disastrous consequences which usually followed such appointments, and affirmed that all the woes of the people of God were caused by the unworthy pastors who were too often the recipients of the royal nomination. He spoke of the terrible chastisements, reserved by the vengeance of Heaven, for the authors of this scandal. "O my Prince," he would say, "you, who are so wise, how can you, for the sake of granting

a favour to a most unworthy subject, how can you consent to become the murderer of so many souls redeemed by our Lord Jesus Christ, how can you thus outrage the Divine Majesty and expose yourself to the terrible torments of Hell? If you wish to avoid this abyss of manifold evils, you must leave the ecclesiastical elections free, according to the Canon Law. All you have to do in the matter is to support and defend the candidate who has been legitimately elected."

If the English monarch had had no other advisers, it is probable enough that the deplorable abuses which were laid to his charge would have been put a stop to. But as soon as the holy Prior had left the King's cabinet, he was succeeded by interested and unscrupulous courtiers, who wished to maintain these spoliations and sacrilegious nominations, as well as all the other tyrannical decrees against which St. Hugh had been declaiming. Thus the good seed was often trampled down and choked by these odious flatterers. And yet, in spite of all obstacles, there were occasions when it took root and bore fruit in the acts of reparation, of generosity and clemency, which Henry II. occasionally performed under the influence of the Saint. Many churches and monasteries thus received the help they needed; many enemies of the King obtained their pardon; many violent measures were happily averted. And if we take into consideration the savage customs of that time, and the passionate fury which often took possession of the King and paralyzed his reasoning powers, we shall have a more just idea of the beneficent influence of St. Hugh, and be less astonished at his failure to produce a permanent impression.

Even when the Prior of Witham could not obtain the reforms he desired, he did not cease to protest against evil in every form. Considering as he did that love for the poor was part and parcel of love for holy

Church, he felt extreme indignation at the cruel manner in which the poor country people were treated by the foresters and the forest-laws. He had the greatest horror of these foresters. "*Forester*," he would say, "*forester* means a man who remains outside (*forestarius*, *foris stare*); yes, that is the right name for them, for they will *remain outside* the Kingdom of God." The King was not offended at this sally.

One day, when the holy Prior entered the palace, he found in the antechamber several foresters, who had just been refused an audience. They were furiously indignant, and were speaking most disrespectfully of the King. "Who are you then," said St. Hugh, "that dare to use such language?" "We are foresters," they replied. "Then," said the man of God, "stay out of doors" (*forestarii*, *foris state*). Henry II. heard this retort, and came out of his inner room laughing to greet the intrepid Prior, who immediately said to him: "The words you have just heard, concern you also. The poor people who are tortured by your forest-guards, will enter Heaven, and you and your foresters will stand without!"[1]

It needed all the ready wit of St. Hugh, and all the ascendency which belonged to a strong character like his to make such severe reproofs palatable.

Providence, it is true, seemed to lend its support to these admonitions by abandoning the aged monarch to cruel sufferings and trials. His sons rebelled against him, and the eldest of them, Prince Henry, died in the midst of the war he had declared against his father. When his last moments were approaching, he sent a messenger to the King to beg his forgiveness and implore him to visit him on his death-bed. Henry feared this was only a snare, and contented himself with sending a ring from his finger, as a token of

[1] Walter Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 7. Camden Society.

forgiveness. But he learnt soon after, that his son had died truly contrite, after receiving the Sacraments of the Church, lying, as the custom then was, upon ashes on the ground.[1] Such an end necessarily directed the thoughts of his miserable father into a Christian channel, and awakened his anxiety about his own soul. There can be no doubt that St. Hugh will have profited by this and similar occasions to fan the flame of his good desires.

The King set as great a value upon the prayers of this faithful friend, as upon his counsels. He felt certain that to the intercession of Hugh he owed his deliverance from many perils, and a special outpouring of the mercy of Almighty God. On one terrible occasion, especially, this confidence in the prayers of St. Hugh was strikingly manifested.

The King had put to sea, at the head of a considerable fleet, on his return from Normandy to England, against the advice of the captain, who feared a tempest. No sooner had they left the shores of France at some distance behind them, when, in the first watch of the night, they were caught in a terrible storm. The waves ran mountains high, the ships were powerless in the fury of the gale, and all hope seemed lost. The bravest among the passengers were seized with mortal terror; some were making their confession, and preparing to die; others were imploring help from Heaven and the protection of their patron saints.

In the midst of the tumult, suddenly the King cried out: "O! if my Carthusian Hugh were watching now, if he were praying in his cell, or chanting the Divine Office with his brothers; for his sake, God would not forget me!" And then he continued, with tears; "O God! whom the Prior of Witham serves so faithfully, look Thou upon his merits and intercession; and for

[1] Lingard, *History of England*, c. xii.

his sake, take pity upon our distress in spite of the sins which deserve Thy judgments!"

At that very moment, the wind ceased, the tempest gave place to a perfect calm, the angry waves subsided and every one of the ships reached the English shore in safety. While earnest thanksgivings were heard on all sides, for this great deliverance, we may be quite sure that the King was confirmed in the trust and affection he felt for St. Hugh, which had thus been so marvellously justified.[1]

In the history of King Philip Augustus of France, a similar fact is related, which it will not be out of place to mention here. The King was on his journey to the Holy Land, and a terrible storm arising, he re-assured his sailors by saying to them: "It is now midnight; and this is the hour when the Cistercians of Clairvaux rise to sing Matins. These holy monks never forget us in their prayers; and for their sakes, our Lord Christ will have mercy on us. Their prayers will obtain our deliverance from this peril." And as the King spoke, the storm abated, and the stars shone once more in the clear heavens.[2]

If we want to understand what part the monasteries played in the life of the middle ages, it is in such episodes as these that we may find the information which we seek. They help us to understand these words of St. John Chrysostom: "The charity of the monk is more than royal; a king, if he is good, can supply the bodily needs of the poor; but the monk, by his prayers, can deliver us from the tyranny of the devil. A man whose soul is mortally wounded, passes from the presence of his king, who is powerless to help him, and flies to the monastery, the house of prayer, just as an unarmed peasant when he sees the wolf

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. viii; *Vita Metrica*, v. 611—668.
[2] William the Breton, *Philippis*, iv. 44.

coming, takes shelter behind a hunter, who is brandishing a spear. For as the spear is to the hunter, so is prayer to the monk. And it is not we only who seek for such a refuge in peril and tribulation, for kings themselves have sought it in their hour of need, as beggars seek the house of a rich man when the land is swept by famine."[1]

A generation which despises and neglects this means of salvation, exposes itself to the danger of a terrible shipwreck. It is in vain for them to boast of the skill of their pilots; the tempest will come, and all the frail support upon which their hopes were built, will fail them when they need it most. Would that even then in the eleventh hour they would turn for succour to God and His servants!

A thinker of modern times has written: "I think that those who pray, do more for the world than those who fight; and if it is true that the world is going from bad to worse, it is because there are more battles than prayers. If we could penetrate the secrets of God, and those of the history of mankind, I am certain that we should be seized with admiration at the wonderful effects of prayer, even in human things. If society is to be at rest, there must be a certain equilibrium, known to God alone, between prayer and action, between the contemplative and the active life. I believe, so strong are my convictions on this point, that if a day should ever come, or even one single hour, during which no prayer should ascend from earth to Heaven, that day and hour would be the last day and the last hour of the world."[2]

[1] *Comparatio regis et monachi*, ch. iv.
[2] Donoso Cortès, vol. ii. p. 124.

## Note to Book I. Chapter XI.

In the very unfavourable estimate of the religious side of Henry II.'s character which has been formed by Bishop Stubbs, it seems to me that the distinguished historian has been hardly just to the many redeeming features for which we have good evidence in the *Magna Vita*, and other sources. In Bishop Stubbs' view: "He had little regard for more than the merest forms of religion; like Napoleon Bonaparte, he heard Mass daily, but without paying decent attention to the ceremony. During the most solemn part of the service, he was whispering to his courtiers, or scribbling, or looking at pictures.[1] His vows to God, he seems to have thought, might be evaded as easily as his covenants with men; his undertaking to go on the Crusade was commuted for money payments,[2] and his promised religious foundations were carried out at the expense of others. His regard for personal morality was of much the same value and extent. He was at no period of his life a faithful husband; and when he had finally quarrelled with Eleanor, he sank into sad depths of licentiousness."

Now the fact is, that nearly all these details rest upon the evidence of Ralph Niger, and upon the *De Institutione Principum* of Giraldus Cambrensis.[3] That these two writers are flagrantly unfair to Henry in their account of the three monasteries he had promised to found, we have already seen,[4] and it seems extremely

[1] "This may be a libel of Ralph Niger," adds Bishop Stubbs, in a note, "but it is graphic enough to be true."

[2] Henry II. never entirely laid aside the idea of the Crusade, and it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of the plans which he formed to go to Palestine with his son Richard and the King of France, only a year before his death.

[3] *De Institutione Principum*, Rolls Series, p. 304.

[4] See note to chapter viii. p. 83.

probable that their presentment of other incidents in his career is not more trustworthy. Giraldus implies, for instance, that he died without the sacraments, but Roger Hoveden,[1] whose authority is accepted by such writers as Miss Kate Norgate, and Bishop Stubbs himself, states explicitly, that just before his death he had himself carried into the chapel of the Castle of Chinon, and there, before the altar, "received devoutly the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, confessing his sins, and absolved by the bishops and the clergy." When we remember, therefore, the real friendship which subsisted between the King and the holy Bishop of Lincoln, and make allowances for the violent storms of passion to which the former was subject, there seems little room for doubt that the efforts to make his peace with God, of which so many are recorded in his life, were thoroughly sincere. No one, it seems to me, has better summed up this side of Henry's character than Mrs. J. R. Green, in her little monograph in the *Twelve English Statesmen* Series. "To the last," she says, "Henry looked on the clergy as his best advisers and supporters. He never demanded tribute from churches or monasteries, a monkish historian tells us, as other princes were wont to do, on the plea of necessity; with religious care, he preserved them from unjust burthens and public exactions. By frequent acts of devotion, he sought to win the favour of Heaven, or to rouse the religious sympathies of England on his behalf. In April, 1177, he met at Canterbury his old enemy the Archbishop of Rheims, and laid on the shrine of St. Thomas a charter of privileges for the convent. On the 1st of May, he visited the shrine of St. Edmund, and the next day that of St. Etheldreda at Ely. . . . A Templar was chosen to be his almoner, that he might carry to the

[1] Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 367.

King the complaints of the poor, which could not come to his own ears, and distribute among the needy a tenth of all the food and drink that came into the house of the King. . . . Behind Henry's darkest and sternest moods lay a nature quick in passionate emotion, singularly sensitive to affection, tender, full of generous impulse, clinging to those he loved with yearning fidelity and long patience."[1] Even in his attempt to carry through the too famous Constitutions of Clarendon, the writer last quoted seems right in saying "that he had no desire to quarrel with the Church or priesthood." No doubt several of the provisions of that enactment were distinct encroachments upon the privileges of the Church, but it may be questioned if the precise point at issue in the most famous of the Constitutions of Clarendon has always been clearly apprehended either by the opponents or the friends of King Henry. Professor Maitland[2] seems to have studied the question very carefully and impartially, and he considers that Henry never intended to require what Stubbs imputes to him, viz., "that clerical criminals should be tried in the ordinary courts of the country."[3] The discussion of the nature of Henry's schemes does not, however, belong to this place, and as to the general drift of his legislation regarding the clergy, Bishop Stubbs' remark seems still to hold good. "When we find that in this cause all the piety and wisdom of three centuries saw the championship of the Divine truth and justice against secular usurpation, we are not surely wrong in supposing that the Constitutions of Clarendon were dated three centuries too soon."[4]—[ED.]

[1] *Henry II.*, by Mrs. J. R. Green, pp. 195—197.

[2] *History of English Law*, vol. i. p. 430 seq.; and *English Historical Review*, vol. vii. p. 224.

[3] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 501.

[4] Preface to *Benedict*, vol. ii. p. 24.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *THE PRIOR OF WITHAM IN HIS MONASTERY.*

While he was thus rendering service to the King of England, St. Hugh did not neglect his own monastery. Now that the material edifice was completed, thanks to his courage and activity, he lost no time in building up the spiritual edifice of a perfect religious life, keeping closely to the model of the Grande Chartreuse itself. His great care was to see that the Rule was strictly observed, and to this he contributed not less by example than by precept. Faithfully to do the will of God from one moment to the other, and to look upon the Rule as a revelation of His will; to neglect no one of its most minute requirements, however unimportant it might seem to be; and to persevere day after day in this blind and simple obedience: this was the religious spirit which the holy Prior strove to impress upon the monks under his guidance. And to him this life of perfect regularity had become such a habit, that it was almost a second nature. So much so, that as soon as he lay down to rest at the appointed hour, he went to sleep immediately; and if he were awakened out of the proper time, either he got up and gave himself to prayer, or he at once dropped off to sleep again without an effort. It is true that his short rest was well earned, and, moreover, it might have been said of him, with the bride in the Canticles: "I sleep, and my heart watcheth."[1] Those who approached him during his

[1] Cant. v. 2.

hours of slumber, often heard him repeat the words, *Amen, amen.* This word, the only one that ever escaped him during sleep, was like the conclusion of the uninterrupted prayer of his waking hours. In it also we may discern the habitual disposition of his soul, ready to say *Amen* to every manifestation of the Divine will, and always full of that living and strong faith, of which the *Amen* is a solemn affirmation. It pleased God also to reveal His secrets to His servant in dreams, of which in after-days he used sometimes to speak to his biographer. "When he told me these things," says the pious historian, "I thought that to this man of God might well be applied the words of the Divine Office, which he himself always sang with great fervour:

> Exuta sensu lubrico
> Te cordis alta somnient![1]

It is not astonishing that during his sleep he enjoyed this spiritual serenity, these clear intuitions, and this holy sweetness; he who, when awake, never allowed his imagination to be led captive by vanity, or curiosity, or sensuality."[2]

His days were passed in prayer, in meditation, in spiritual reading, and in the care of those committed to his charge. On Sundays and feast-days, when he went to the refectory in obedience to the Rule, he behaved as he taught his Religious to do: "His eyes were upon the table, his hands upon his food, his ears upon the reading, and his heart was upon God."[3] When he took his meals alone in his cell, he always had a book open before him on the table. It was the Word of God which gave a relish to those austere repasts, which often consisted of nothing but bread and water.

[1] "O my God, grant that, delivered from dangerous imaginations, the depths of our hearts may dream only of Thee." (*Carthusian Breviary*, Hymn for Sunday Vespers.)

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. ix. [3] *Ibid.*

No one ever had more esteem and love for books than he had. He wished that his monastery might in this resemble the Grande Chartreuse, and might possess a rich library in the midst of its poverty. He therefore endeavoured to accomplish this end by the purchase or transcription of numerous manuscripts. Nothing seemed to him more necessary for diffusing throughout the cloister an atmosphere of edification and piety. "When we are at peace," he said, "books are our treasures and delights; when we are fighting, they are our arms; when we are hungry, they are our food; when we are sick, they are our remedy. This is a resource which no Order of religious men can afford to neglect; but those who need it most of all, are the monks who live in solitude."[1]

A somewhat curious episode may serve to illustrate this great love which he had for books; while it will show us also how he preferred the exercise of fraternal charity above all else.

One day, when he was in familiar conversation with the King, he was speaking of the poverty of his library. "You must find copyists," said the Prince, "to transcribe the books you require." "But I have no parchment," said the Prior. "How much money will purchase the quantity you need?" continued the Prince. "A silver mark," replied St. Hugh, "will keep us supplied for a long time to come." The King smiled. "How grasping you are!" he said. And then he ordered that ten marks should immediately be given to the Brother who was in attendance on the Prior of Witham. Moreover, he promised to present the monastery with a Bible which should contain the whole of the Old and New Testaments. He did not forget this promise, and made inquiries as to where such a Bible could be found. He was told that the

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. xiii.

monks of St. Swithun, at Winchester, had just completed a very beautiful Bible, which was intended for their refectory. The King immediately sent for the Prior of St. Swithun, and induced him, not without holding out hopes of ample compensation, to part with this masterpiece of caligraphy. The present thus made to the King was at once transferred by him to Witham. St. Hugh and his monks, who were quite ignorant of whence it came, rejoiced greatly over their beautiful new treasure. They admired the elegant writing of the copyist, and the intelligent revision of the corrector, both of whom had spared no pains to secure an easily legible and accurate text.

A short time afterwards, one of the monks from Winchester came to Witham on a friendly visit. According to his custom, St. Hugh received the visitor with great affability, and, in the course of conversation, spoke of the magnificent Bible which, by the King's generosity, had lately come into possession of the Carthusians. "We are delighted," said the visitor, "to think that it is your monastery which has received our book. We hope it gives you satisfaction in every way! If it is not arranged according to the usage of your Order, we shall be happy to make you another copy in accordance with your instructions." Filled with astonishment, the holy Prior replied: "Is it possible that our lord the King can thus have deprived your house of a work so carefully executed for your own use? Believe me, my dear Brother, your Bible shall be restored to you at once. I beg of you to present our excuses to your community, and ask forgiveness for the wrong we have done them, although it was quite without our knowledge." On this the monk of St. Swithun's took fright, and implored St. Hugh not to carry out his design, as the monastery at Winchester might lose the King's favour, if the

affair came to the royal ears. He assured St. Hugh that all his brothers in Religion were delighted at what had happened. "Well, then!" concluded St. Hugh, "to make their joy a lasting joy, we must all keep secret the restitution I am determined to make of their precious treasure. Take your Bible with you, if you do not want me to send it back again to the donor who sent it here. Carry it away at once, and be quite sure that the King shall never know a word about the matter." The Bible therefore returned to its first possessors, who received it as a present from the Prior of Witham: and if they were overjoyed to recover their beautiful manuscript, they were still more charmed with the gracious charity which had shown so much consideration for their disappointment.

From that day forth the most affectionate relations were established between the monks of St. Swithun and those of Witham. Later on, two Religious from Winchester entered the English Charterhouse, and became excellent Carthusians: one of them was Robert, Prior of the Cathedral; the other Ralph, the sacristan,[1] who related to the biographer of St. Hugh the fact of which we have just been speaking.

These were not the only recruits who were attracted to Witham by the man of God. His reputation for kindness and sanctity soon spread throughout England, and many distinguished visitors came to Witham, seeking the advice and consolation which never disappointed

[1] It does not seem to me that the expressions used in the *Magna Vita* justify the inference that Ralph, the sacrist, also became a Carthusian. Of Robert the Prior we learn something from Richard of Devizes, himself a monk of St. Swithun's, who paid a visit to Witham to see his former Superior, and to find out "how much nearer to Heaven was a cell in the Charterhouse than the cloister of Winchester." He tells us that he had even had a thought of staying at Witham himself, but his tone nevertheless is rather acrid, and he mentions another distinguished man, Walter, Prior of Bath, who had joined the Carthusians and had left them again. (Richard of Devizes, *Gesta Richardi*, p. 26 and Prologue.)—[ED.]

them. Among them, were men of learning, possessing rich benefices, who were so captivated by the sight of his virtues, that they bade farewell to all that the world had to offer, in order to become humble disciples in this school of self-renunciation.

On his part, St. Hugh, always prudent and circumspect, was not inclined to open the doors of the cloister too easily. He examined carefully into the motives which were actuating his postulants, and could on occasion be stern as well as gentle. But when he had really tested a vocation, and was satisfied of its genuineness, he was always rejoiced to receive a new son into the Order he loved so tenderly. It was then that the time of his solicitude began. The holy Prior was not content with guiding the first steps of his novices; he followed them in every stage of their religious life, never ceasing to stimulate their efforts, as far as discretion allowed. The greater number repaid his fatherly care; but we must confess that there were some sad exceptions to this rule, and there were especially two of these new recruits on whose account St. Hugh had to suffer cruelly.

Is it necessary to remark here that it would be folly to impute to a whole Religious Order the faults of some of its individual members? If the Order founded by St. Bruno has never needed reform, the same cannot be said of every Carthusian. On the contrary, it is because the weak and unfruitful branches have been carefully pruned and extirpated, that the tree itself has continued to flourish in all its pristine strength and beauty.

Moreover, while St. Hugh had not to deplore the more grievous scandals which sometimes occurred in other monasteries, he had too often to contend with that elusive but none the less inveterate infirmity of the soul which we may describe as want of perseverance.

The two monks who were attacked by this malady, Andrew, formerly sacristan of the Monastery of Muchelney, and Alexander, a former secular canon of Lewes, were both men of good reputation, and had made considerable sacrifices to enter the Carthusian Order. But they began to regret the step they had taken, and to lose all relish for their solitary life. They complained to the holy Prior, and murmured against him and against the Order he represented. Andrew was not so violent; but the ex-canon, proud of his learning and secular knowledge, gave free vent to his indignation. He accused the man of God of having deceitfully entrapped him into remaining in so severe a solitude, where he was deprived of all human consolation, and compelled to live without the society even of his brothers in Religion. St. Hugh endeavoured, with inexhaustible patience and gentleness, to calm these unquiet spirits, and to point out to them the advantages and excellence of their way of life. But he had the grief of seeing them turn a deaf ear to all his exhortations, and he found himself powerless to prevent the catastrophe he dreaded. The two monks had made up their minds to leave the monastery. Their intention was soon known to their brothers in Religion, and even to persons outside. It was a great trial for the whole community, and a scandal especially for those who had recently embraced the religious life. St. Hugh was deeply grieved: his heart was torn with anguish to see the peace of his monastery threatened, and the perseverance of his other monks thus sorely imperilled.

Some little consolation he must doubtless have felt from the action of one at that time much respected for his learning and virtue, the well-known writer, Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath. This distinguished man had formerly studied law with the monk Alexander, and he now addressed a long letter to his old fellow-

student, in which he endeavoured to dissuade him from his deplorable project. Peter wrote eloquently in praise of the Carthusian Order, expressing the most profound admiration for its sanctity, and he ended by reproaching his old friend for his ingratitude to the Prior of Witham, whose charity and patience he had abused, and whose heart he had filled with sorrow.[1]

St. Hugh had hoped for good results from this letter, but it had no effect upon the obstinate resolution of the ex-canon of Lewes. Its eloquence was wasted upon him; his determination was fixed, and nothing could shake it. While Andrew, his companion in rebellion, returned to his former monastery, Alexander entered the Abbey of Reading, which belonged to the monks of Cluny. He was at once taken into favour by the Abbot, who, on account of his reputation for learning, admitted him to his table and to close intimacy. But the Abbot being afterwards recalled to Cluny, to govern the monastery there, and Alexander thus seeing himself deserted and friendless, began to repent bitterly of his conduct in leaving Witham. He addressed himself to St. Hugh, who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and implored him to allow of his being received again as a Carthusian. But the man of God firmly refused his consent to a step which would have been quite contrary to the principles which guided him in all such matters.

In the idea of St. Hugh, the Carthusians, more than any other Order, were bound to be on their guard against these *inconstant straws*, as he called those who by

[1] Peter of Blois, Ep. 86. We learn from this letter that the excuse Alexander gave for quitting the Carthusians was that the Rule did not permit him to say Mass every day. Peter of Blois urges in reply that this is a mere pretext, because Superiors, presumably St. Hugh, to prevent the scandal of such a desertion, had given Alexander permission to celebrate daily if he wished. A century or so later a similar permission was accorded to all Carthusian priests.—[ED.]

the least wind of temptation could be blown away from the good grain, that is to say, from the society of their faithful brethren. Such characters, he said, are better in other Orders, dedicated to a more active life, and may perhaps there find a more easy way of salvation. To keep the door of the Charterhouse rigorously closed against these restless spirits is really to act for their good; for they are not fitted for the isolation of the Carthusian Rule. On the other hand, it was an immense service, he urged, to their own solitaries, to preserve them from such elements of disquiet, which could only bring distraction and disturbance into their peaceful lives.

For these reasons, the Prior of Witham always refused to receive again any monk or lay-brother who had once left the Order. It was in vain for his best friends, or for persons in the highest position, to attempt to alter his decision in this matter; their prayers were of no avail. Nothing was so dear to him as the peace of the souls confided to his care. The cloister, without peace, may become a real Hell; with peace, it is the vestibule of Paradise.

St. Hugh had no other thought than that of shutting himself up more resolutely in the solitude of his cell, to prepare himself for the death which no longer seemed far distant, when Providence called him to enter upon an entirely new career in which his sanctity was to make itself manifest to the world. The vital seeds of benediction, which had germinated during the long years of solitude, were now to push their shoots into broad daylight, and produce a magnificent harvest.

# BOOK II.

## THE FIRST YEARS OF EPISCOPACY.

1186—1189.

## CHAPTER I.

### *ST. HUGH IS APPOINTED BISHOP OF LINCOLN.*

1186.

Among the bishoprics which had suffered most from the abuse of kingly power, which St. Hugh had always condemned, was that of Lincoln, one of the largest and most densely populated in England. The attention of St. Thomas of Canterbury had already been drawn to the sad state of things in this diocese, which had been left vacant ever since the death of the last Bishop, Robert of Chesney, in 1167; and in one of his letters the great Archbishop had spoken strongly of this very long vacancy.[1] In 1173, that is to say, after six years had elapsed since the death of the last Bishop, King Henry II. had appointed a successor; but it was only his illegitimate son Geoffrey, who was a soldier, not at all fitted for the ecclesiastical life, and who in fact did not receive episcopal consecration until after the death of his father, when he was made Archbishop of York. We can easily understand that the diocese was no better off for such a nomination as this. It was necessary for the Pope to interfere in 1181, and insist upon Geoffrey receiving Holy Orders, or else resigning his see. He chose the latter alternative; upon which Walter of Coutances was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in July, 1183; but in less than two years, in February, 1185, he was translated

[1] St. Thomas of Canterbury, *Letters*, vol. i. p. 120. Edit. J. A. Giles.

to the archiepiscopal see of Rouen, which had become vacant on the death of Archbishop Rotrou.[1] Thus, with the exception of this short interval, the Church in Lincoln had sustained a widowhood of nearly eighteen years, which was happily ended at last by the nomination of St. Hugh.

In the month of May, 1186, Henry II. assembled together at the Abbey of Eynsham, a number of Bishops and English nobles, when, for eight consecutive days, deliberations were held regarding the affairs of the kingdom. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, with several other Bishops, lodged at the Abbey, the King rode in each day from his palace of Woodstock, only a few miles distant. Amongst the topics discussed by this assembly there was question of the filling up of more than one vacant bishopric. The Canons of Lincoln were summoned to meet the King, and bidden to hold an election. Nowithstanding the presence of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other ecclesiastics of high rank, the election was to be conducted according to one of the most objectionable articles of the Constitutions of Clarendon, which runs thus: "When it is necessary to appoint a Bishop to the vacant see, the King shall summon the chief personages[2] belonging to that see, and the election shall take place in the King's chapel, with his consent, and with the counsel of those personages of the kingdom whom he shall call to him for the purpose."

[1] See the Chronicle of Rouen in Labbe, *Bibliotheca Nova*, vol. i. p. 369; Martène, *Anecdota*, vol. iii.; R. de Diceto, pp. 615, 692, 726.

[2] It is hard to say whether the word *personæ* here is, or is not, used in any technical sense. Obviously the signification in which the word was employed by Chaucer, and which still survives in the term "parson," is excluded by the circumstances of the case. Yet it bore this meaning even in St. Hugh's time, for we read in a document emanating from him of *decani, personæ, presbyteri*—"deans, parish priests, and curates." But besides this, the word *personæ* seems to have been specially applied to certain members of the cathedral chapters. (Cf. *Register of St. Osmund*,

There were plenty of candidates for the bishopric of Lincoln. Several of the Canons of the diocese were men of high rank, either members of the King's Privy Council, or holding office in the palace. They enjoyed great consideration on account of their learning, and also, it must be said, on account of their wealth. Although a bishopric might not have made them any richer, they would probably not have needed very much pressing to consent to wear a mitre. But God had already chosen His own candidate, and He had disposed the heart of the King in his favour; for the King was now really in earnest in wishing to repair the evils caused by the long vacancy at Lincoln as soon as possible. The person upon whom his choice had so providentially fallen was no other than the holy Prior of Witham. The Archbishop of Canterbury cordially agreed with the King upon this point. So also did Reginald, Bishop of Bath, the envoy who had formerly brought Hugh from the Grande Chartreuse, and who, as a near neighbour to Witham, had long been a witness of his virtue and ability.

The Canons duly proceeded to an election, but they could not come to an agreement, on account of the interested views of some of their number. It was then that the Prior of Witham was proposed. His reputation for sanctity, prudence, and learning was known to them all. No one, they were told, was more worthy of the bishopric and of their votes. This proposition caused great agitation in the souls of those who were seeking their own interest, rather than the interests of God and His Church. They made objections to this nomination on the plea that Hugh was ignorant of the

Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 2.) So at Lincoln: "Noveritis etiam in ecclesia nostra quatuor esse personatus et totidem personas excellentes inter quas primum locum habet decanus, secundum cantor, tertium cancellarius, quartum thesaurarius." (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 533.)—[ED.]

language and customs of the country, and that his solitary life had not been a good preparation for the care of a large diocese. But their objections were easily overruled, and before long they came to think that no better candidate could be found than the man whom they were opposing. The Prior of Witham was therefore unanimously elected Bishop of Lincoln, to the satisfaction of the King and his courtiers. The Archbishop of Canterbury confirmed the election, and hastened to send notice of it to the holy Prior, who, in the retirement of his cell, knew nothing of what was passing.[1]

A deputation from the electors arrived at Witham, bearing letters from the King and the Archbishop, and informed St. Hugh of what had taken place at Eynsham. Without betraying any emotion, the Prior opened the letters and read the pressing summons to set out at once to join the King and the Primate, in order that a day might be fixed for his consecration.

For any one less disinterested than the Prior of Witham the prospect could hardly have been without its fascinations. But upon St. Hugh the proffered bishopric seems to have made no impression whatever. He may no doubt have recalled to mind the prophecy of the old Carthusian monk, whose last illness he had consoled; but if he did, he took a resolution at all events to defer the fulfilment of that prophecy as long as ever it was possible.

His reply was worthy of a son of St. Bruno, who remembered how that holy man had fled to the desert to escape from ecclesiastical honours. "I can understand," he wrote to the Canons of Lincoln, "why my lord the King and my lord the Archbishop wished to confer this honour upon me, of which I am most un-

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. i. Cf. Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 345; Ralph de Diceto, p. 631; Roger Hoveden, p. 63.

worthy. It is natural for the King to desire in this way to show his esteem for the humble monk whom he has brought here from a far country; and the Archbishop, too, would no doubt be glad to see amongst his colleagues on the episcopal bench more of those who, like himself, have once worn a monastic garb.[1] But you, my friends, and the other electors, must not be guided by these desires on the part of your Superiors. To you alone belongs the right of freely electing the pastor under whose guidance you are to live. And besides, the regular election of a Bishop ought to take place, not in the palace of the King, or even in a council of Bishops summoned by him, but in the chapter-house of the Cathedral of the diocese. There can indeed be no just reason for acting otherwise, unless there be an open schism or some other complication of equal gravity. Now let me express my humble opinion upon what has passed. I consider the election just held to be null and void. You must return to your church, and there, with the blessing of God, hold another election, after having invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit. Do not consult the will of the King, or of the Archbishop, or of any other human being; but seek to do the will of God alone. I can say no more. May the Angel of the Lord accompany you on your return to Lincoln."

The Canons were edified but not satisfied with this reply. However, as all their eloquence could obtain no other, they returned quickly to those who had sent them, and there the report which they gave of the Prior's answer and bearing excited general admiration.

[1] Baldwin was a Cistercian, and had been Abbot of Ford, in Devonshire. At this time also there were in the English Episcopate, Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, who had been Abbot of Gloucester; William Saltmarsh, Bishop of Llandaff, formerly Prior of the Augustinians at Bristol; and Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. David's, a Cluniac monk from Wenlock.

If any had previously cherished a prejudice against the foreign monk proposed to them, that prejudice was now removed, and when, in accordance with the directions of the Saint, a new and more canonical election took place, St. Hugh was again chosen unanimously.

Another deputation at once set out for the Monastery of Witham, and this time no objections could be made on the ground of irregularity; for they carried letters from the Chapter acquainting the Prior with his election according to all canonical rules, and begging him to accept the appointment. Hugh listened quietly to all they had to say; again calmly read the letters they brought him; and again refused. This time he based his refusal on other arguments. He said that it was a wonder to him that they could persist in asking a recluse like himself to leave his beloved solitude to undertake such a charge, and that for his own part it was out of his power to comply with their request. As a monk he was bound by his vow of obedience, and since the General of his Order had made him Prior of Witham, he could be relieved of that office by no other authority but that which had placed him there.

The deputies were obliged to return again without a favourable answer; but on hearing of this new objection, the Canons of Lincoln at once sent several of their most influential members on a mission to the Grande Chartreuse, supported by strong representations from the King and the Primate, there to beg the General of the Order to lay his commands upon St. Hugh, and thus compel him to accept the dignity offered to him.

Dom Jancelyn then governed the Carthusian Order. He had been acquainted with St. Hugh before his departure for England, and had seen him more than once since, when the Prior of Witham attended the

General Chapters.[1] He was not ignorant of the rare abilities and merits of the Saint, and of his fitness for the position which was proposed to him. He knew also with what favour King Henry regarded the holy Carthusian, and the great good which would be the result of his appointment. Therefore the General consented to make the sacrifice of one of his most cherished sons. It was a sacrifice not without precedent, for the Order of St. Bruno had already given way in several instances when a diocese had earnestly solicited to have some particular Carthusian for their Bishop. For more than a century (*i.e.*, from 1132 to 1248) every Bishop of the see of Grenoble was a Carthusian; and before the date of St. Hugh's death, one Cardinal and thirty-two Bishops or Archbishops had been drawn from the same retreat.

These prelates did not cease to live as Carthusian monks, in so far as their new duties allowed; and they always preserved their love for the Order, aiding thus in many ways to propagate it and establish new foundations.

We can understand, therefore, that the English Canons were much more successful at the Grande Chartreuse than they had been at Witham. They were received with great respect, and very soon obtained the favour they desired. This was a formal command addressed to Hugh, by his General and brothers in Religion, bidding him obey at once the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King, and accept the proffered dignity as the yoke of the Lord. The deputies hastened back to England and presented this ultimatum to their elected Bishop, who, on this occasion, could only resign himself to the will of God and begin to prepare as fervently as might be for episcopal consecration.

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. xiv.

The reluctance of our Saint to accept the dignity of the episcopate contrasted favourably with the eagerness with which some of his contemporaries sought after the like honours, and it inspires his biographer with a burst of admiration. "What a lesson," he exclaims, "for those who seek for ecclesiastical dignities at any price, and care not by what tortuous ways they reach the summit of their desires! Ah! Let them consider if their merits are greater than those of this holy man—if their virtue is more perfect, or their minds more adorned with divine learning! He was well versed in the holy art of avoiding sin and curing the sins of others; he had mastered to perfection the doctrine of salvation; yet, in his humility, he applied to himself those words of the Prophet Jeremias: 'I am not a physician; I have no bread in my house; take care not to make me a prince over the people.' But the more he considered his own nothingness and weakness, the more did he merit to receive the fulness of the Spirit of God."[1]

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. iv.

## CHAPTER II.

### *CONSECRATION AND ENTHRONEMENT.*

1186.

The Divine Pontiff, after the order of Melchisedech, had Himself prepared His servant for the episcopal consecration. The noble birth of St. Hugh, and the faith and piety of the family from which he sprang, had given him that elevation of thought and that innate dignity which ought to characterize a Prince of the Church. His early retirement from the world, and his holy and hidden life at Villard-Benoît, had preserved him from all the dangers which might have been a snare to his innocence, and had formed a fitting preparation for the priesthood. His after life in his Carthusian cell had continued that work of preparation, not by wasting or paralyzing the talents committed to him, but by fertilizing and increasing them. There also he had made rapid strides in the path of perfection, so necessary for those who are to rule and guide others. Finally, he had been tried by many temptations, he had been called upon to sacrifice the peace of his solitude at the Grande Chartreuse, and to assume the cares and responsibilities of superiorship at Witham. All this was again a preparation for the opposition and ill-feeling he was to encounter as Bishop of Lincoln.

In looking back upon the past, St. Hugh could not fail to see how the hand of God had been leading him on to this important change in his life; nevertheless, he took immense pains also to prepare himself worthily

for it. "During the time," says his biographer, "that the deputies were coming and going at Witham, Hugh was far from remaining idle. With all the energy he was capable of, he strove to make daily progress in compunction for past sins, and in that purity of heart which comes from incessant prayer. His preparation did not consist in getting ready magnificent vestments, or vessels for the service of the altar, but in disposing his soul for temptation. At the thought of the impending change in his life, he felt like the sailor at the approach of tempest, or the soldier, when the signal for battle is given. . . . And when the final deputation arrived, with the command from his Superior, and he could no longer refuse to obey, he quitted his beloved solitude in sorrow and fear, commending himself humbly to the prayers of his heart-broken community."[1]

When the day of departure came, a troop of horsemen, mounted on magnificent animals, richly caparisoned, issued from the gates of Witham and took the road to London. Only one of their number showed no sign of ostentation in the equipment of his horse, and he carried at his saddle-bow in front of him a singular-looking bundle. This man, who might have been taken for a servant, was nevertheless the lord and chief of the party—none other than the Bishop-elect of Lincoln, riding in the midst of his Canons. At the moment of his elevation in dignity, he would not abandon the humility of his former life, and he endeavoured to practise the counsel of the Wise Man: "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things."[2] Therefore he was distinguished from the rest of the brilliant cavalcade, only by the simplicity of his attire, and he was not ashamed to carry himself the bundle of sheepskins used for their bedding by the Carthusians of that time. It was in vain for his

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii, ch. iv. [2] Eccles. iii. 20.

travelling companions to try to relieve him of his burden. He cared neither for their protests nor their raillery, being determined to make no change in his monastic habits until after his consecration.

As they drew near to Winchester, their embarrassment increased, on hearing that several members of the royal family and a crowd of people were coming to meet the newly-elected Bishop. One of the chaplains in attendance could stand it no longer. He drew a knife and secretly cut the strap which secured these troublesome sheepskins—the holy Carthusian being so absorbed in prayer and meditation that he never perceived his loss.

Before his consecration, he was summoned to join the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Council of Marlborough, which opened on the 14th of September.[1] Henry welcomed him with great joy, and lavished gifts upon him with truly royal munificence. He presented him with a quantity of gold and silver plate, he supplied the equipment which he needed for his household, and he expressed a wish to defray the greater part of the expense of his episcopal consecration.

That imposing ceremony finally took place in St. Catherine's Chapel, Westminster, on the feast of St. Matthew, September 21, 1186.[2] It was Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, a monk and successor of the Italian monk, St. Augustine, who anointed the new Bishop within the precincts of that famous Abbey, where the Kings of England are crowned, and where rests the body of St. Edward the Confessor. William of Northall was consecrated Bishop of Worcester at the same time. The pontifical insignia of St. Hugh, by his own wish, were of the simplest kind, and with as little ornament as possible, from the mitre to the sandals. It was his humility which dictated this choice, and he

[1] Benedict, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 352. [2] *Ibid.* p. 353.

desired that these simple vestments should clothe his dead body on the day of his burial. Thus, in the midst of all the grandeur of his new position, it was the thought of death which was uppermost in his mind.

Whatever progress he had hitherto made in perfection, a new transformation was seen in him from the time of his episcopal consecration. He received the imposition of hands with the firm determination of becoming a true apostle. When the holy oil flowed over his head and his hands, his heart also was inundated with that divine charity which made him the real Father of his flock. When he received the crozier, he felt strong to carry it in defence of God's Church and to make the sceptres of the proudest kings bow before it, if need should arise. When the pastoral ring was put upon his finger, he conceived a tender and unchanging love for the Church of Christ, with whom he thus contracted an alliance, in the name of the Divine Spouse. When the mitre surmounted his brow, he came to form a more exalted idea of the dignity of the episcopate, and of the sublime virtues which should be its crown. And thus, when, towards the end of the ceremony, clothed in full pontifical robes, he turned round to the people and gave his first episcopal benediction, there might well have been applied to him, even then, those words of Holy Scripture which are now read in his honour in the Epistle of the Mass: "Behold, a great priest, one who has pleased God, and is found just in His sight. . . . God has raised him up, to put him at the head of His people. . . . He has exalted him in the presence of kings, and has given him a crown of glory."[1]

After his consecration, the new Bishop of Lincoln lost no time in repairing to his diocese, and being

[1] At his consecration St. Hugh made a profession of obedience to Archbishop Baldwin. It is printed in the Appendix.—[ED.]

installed in his own Cathedral. It was the custom in those days, that the newly-consecrated prelate, on the evening before his solemn entry, should retire to the Priory of St. Catherine, without the walls of Lincoln, and there pass the night.[1] Hugh was glad of the opportunity to prepare in silence and prayer for the solemn entry upon his episcopal functions. He therefore prolonged his devotions even beyond the night Office of Matins, until at length sleep overcame him in spite of himself. Then it was that in a dream he heard a heavenly voice speaking to him these words of the Prophet: "Thou goest to save thy people, to save them with the help of thy Christ." At this point the holy Bishop awoke, but he was comforted by the mysterious encouragement thus accorded to him by Almighty God, remembering also, as he did, what is said of the eternal triumph of the Blessed in the context of the same passage.

When the day dawned, he set out barefoot for the Cathedral, surrounded by the inhabitants of Lincoln, who were eager to see and to call down blessings on him who came to them in the name of the Lord. The gentleness and paternal kindness which shone in the countenance of their new Bishop gained all hearts. Nevertheless, it was soon discovered that he was not wanting in firmness when he saw it was necessary to reform abuses. The first to experience this was the Archdeacon of Canterbury, who had been deputed by the Primate to perform the ceremony of the enthronization. He expected to receive a considerable present, as was the custom of the time.[2] But when he asked

[1] The *Consuetudinarium*, in the Lincoln registry, which is the authority for this statement, is of later date. The example of St. Hugh probably originated the custom; for the Gilbertine priory of St. Catherine had only been founded a few years before by Bishop Chesney.—[ED.]

[2] *Antiquities of Canterbury*. By Somner and Battely. The Third Council of Lateran, however, had just forbidden the practice. See Apendix.—[ED.]

for his honorarium, St. Hugh briefly replied: "I will give for the throne what I have given for the mitre; and no more." The Archdeacon, covered with confusion, had to content himself with the honour of having installed so upright a Bishop, thus receiving a lesson by which we may hope that he profited.

Those who might have been tempted, under these circumstances, to accuse our Saint of avarice or parsimony, were witnesses on the same day of an instance of his great natural liberality. Preparations were being made for a great feast to all the inhabitants on the occasion of their Bishop's solemn entry, and the major-domo, whom Henry II. had himself chosen for him, came in due course to ask for his master's orders. The functionary suggested that on such occasions it was usual to kill some of the deer in the park belonging to the Cathedral, and added that it was for the Lord Bishop to say how many deer should be killed. "Oh," said St. Hugh, "you may take three hundred; and if those are not sufficient, take as many more as are necessary." The story of St. Hugh's simplicity came to the ears of the King and his courtiers, who were accustomed to be much more sparing of their venison. They were prodigiously diverted at it, and the joke was so often repeated that the "Bishop of Lincoln's deer" passed into a proverb.

One other incident, more picturesque and more remarkable, but not less authentic, is related of the early days of the Saint's episcopate, and has ever since been associated with his memory. We may surely be pardoned for pointing out its full significance, and for narrating it here with the details given by contemporary writers. We shall thus be able to explain the impression it has left in popular tradition, and the reason why in Christian art St. Hugh is usually represented with a swan at his feet.

## CHAPTER III.

### *THE SWAN OF ST. HUGH.*

It is no slur upon the authenticity of the facts recorded in the lives of the Saints to say that these lives are full of poetry. There is no essential opposition between poetry and history, and we may find many a beautiful poem written by the grace of God in the actions of His servants long before it is more or less imperfectly translated into words by the hand of man. Among such poems there are none more lovely and graceful than those which tell us of the relations of the inferior creatures with certain chosen souls, to whom seems sometimes to have been granted a share of the privileges of our first parents, before the fall of man. Those who, when reading of these things, feel nothing but indifference or contempt, are much to be pitied; and we may remind them of the saying of Saint Cadoc, a Welsh monk and bard of the sixth century: "No one is a true son of wisdom, if he is not also a son of poetry." Indeed, we should be depriving history of half its charm, if we were to suppress without examination all facts which bear upon them the stamp of the marvellous, and we should simply prove ourselves incapable of appreciating that Divine poetry the rules of which lie outside the ordinary laws of nature. "We need not be astonished," wrote the Venerable Bede, when treating of St. Cuthbert's powers over the birds and beasts, "if he who loyally and faithfully obeys the Creator of the universe, sees creatures, in their turn, obey him." [1]

[1] *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ch. xiii.

This wonderful sympathy with the innocent creatures of God has been a distinguishing trait of many of His saints, especially of St. Francis of Assisi, who, at the time of which we are now writing, was still in his early childhood.[1] But it is not only St. Francis who had this experience. The birds, which play such a charming part in the story of his life, had shown the same touching confidence, long before he came on earth, towards other mortified ascetics. We remember the raven which brought half a loaf every day to St. Paul the Hermit, and which, when St. Anthony came to visit him, did not fail to provide a whole one. Another raven, acting in a contrary manner, always came to St. Benedict at Subiaco, to ask for a share of his meals. To these facts, which are attested, the one by St. Jerome, and the other by St. Gregory the Great, we may add a third, which is told of St. Guthlac, an English hermit, who died in the beginning of the eighth century. The swallows used to come twittering around him in crowds; they perched upon his shoulders and his knees, upon his head and his breast. With his own hands, the Saint helped them to build their nests under the eaves of his cell, and year after year his loving little guests came to take up their summer abode in the same spot. "O my Father," said an astonished visitor, "what have you done, to make these timid daughters of solitude trust you so entirely?" "Do you not know," replied the hermit, "that he who is united to his God by purity of heart, finds all these sinless creatures united to himself in like manner? The birds of heaven, like the angels of God, may safely associate with those who have fled into the desert from the society of their fellows."[2]

Again, we may quote what is related by Sulpicius

[1] He was born in 1182.

[2] *Life of St. Guthlac*, Monks of the West, vol. v. p. 124.

Severus of St. Martin of Tours. That holy Bishop of the fourth century, when visiting his diocese, and walking beside the banks of the Loire, followed by a crowd of disciples, drew their attention to the water-fowl called divers, which were swimming about on the river, catching and swallowing the fish. "Look," said the Saint, "there you have an exact picture of the devil: that is how he lies in wait for careless souls; that is how he devours his victims, and yet is never satisfied." And immediately afterwards he commanded these water-birds to leave the river in which they were swimming, and live henceforth in the desert. We can imagine the astonishment of the crowd when, at the sound of his voice, the birds obediently left the water, and flew off in a body to the neighbouring uplands and forests.[1]

The holy Bishop of Lincoln, who had a great devotion to St. Martin, was favoured with a like power, although it was displayed in a different manner.

We have already seen at the Grande Chartreuse how his gentleness attracted and tamed the birds and the squirrels. At Witham he had a similar experience, and for three years a bernacle-goose (*burneta*, or *burneca*) fearlessly frequented the cell of the good Prior, and eat from his hand. This bird never left him, except when she was hatching her eggs, and when that was over she reappeared, followed by all her brood. But the remembrance of this faithful bird is almost effaced by the still more wonderful behaviour of St. Hugh's celebrated swan, of which we have now to speak.

The swan made its first appearance, either on the very day of the Saint's enthronement, or the day after,

[1] *Sulpicius Severus*, Epistles iii., Monks of the West, vol. vi. ch. v. M de Montalembert, from whom we have borrowed this incident, and who relates also a number of others, equally wonderful, but not so well authenticated, thinks that the name *martins-pêcheurs*, given to diving-ducks, has its origin in this occurrence.

at a place called Stow, one of the episcopal manors, situated about eight miles from the Cathedral City. It was a very large and magnificent bird, "as much bigger than other swans as a swan is bigger than a goose," and its first proceeding was to exterminate as many as it could of those of its own species who were swimming about the lake when it took possession of it. A short time afterwards, St. Hugh paid his first visit to Stow, which was one of his episcopal residences, and it occurred to the people to make a present of this noble bird to their Bishop. Instead of fiercely resisting, as every one expected, the swan allowed itself to be caught, and conducted to the Bishop's room. St. Hugh offered it some bread, which the bird eat from his hand; and from that day, like the tamest and gentlest of creatures, it constituted itself the holy Bishop's inseparable companion, receiving his caresses with evident pleasure, and taking no notice of the numerous visitors who came and went. More than this, it was sometimes seen to bury its head and its long neck in the wide sleeves which St. Hugh wore, as though it were plunging them in limpid water, giving utterance all the time to cries of joy. When our Saint left Stow, the swan went back to its lake, but three or four days before the Bishop's return, by some marvellous intuition, the bird knew what was going to happen, and published it after its manner, beating the water with its wings, and flying round and round with joyous cries. Then leaving the lake, as if it would rush to meet its master, it stalked up and down the inner court, or even went so far as the gate. This friendship the bird extended to no one else, and it would even seek to protect St. Hugh against his visitors, or against the chaplains in attendance, threatening them with its beak and its wings.

One of the most esteemed writers of that period,

Giraldus Cambrensis, was an eye-witness of these facts. He spent several years at Lincoln during the time that the Saint was Bishop there, and mentions the swan in his work entitled, *The Life of St. Remigius*,[1] which was written while St. Hugh was yet living. As a competent observer, he carefully examined the creature, and from his account it appears to correspond closely with the description which naturalists give of the wild swan, or whooper, a notable characteristic of which is that the base of the beak shows no protuberance, and is deeply tinged with yellow.

The chaplain of St. Hugh, who has incorporated this testimony in his narrative, adds the following details, derived from his own experience: "We can all bear witness," he says, "that when the swan was present it was impossible for any one to approach the Bishop without being attacked by it. While its master slept, it kept guard near the bed, and often caused us great embarrassment. For if we had occasion to pass anywhere near, the swan would raise its head threateningly, and come forward to bar the way. If we tried to frighten it, or use force, it would utter the most hideous cries, so that we were obliged to retire, for fear of awakening the Bishop. Neither coaxing nor flattery, if I may so speak, could induce it to modify the hostility with which it regarded all the world in defence of the supposed interests of its master.

"During the absence of the Bishop, the swan would condescend to receive its food from the hand of the bailiff: it would then come to the edge of the lake, but as soon as it was satisfied it would sail off again into the centre as far away as possible. When the Bishop returned, the bailiff was treated like every one else, and repulsed by the bird as though it had never seen him before. But its master was never forgotten, how-

[1] Chap. xxix.

ever long his absence. On one occasion, when the Bishop had passed nearly two years without coming to Stow, the swan went to meet him with such speaking demonstrations of joy, that no one could fail to understand how impatiently it had been longing for his return. All the servants of the house and the neighbours can testify that it made known the Bishop's approach by its behaviour and its cries at a time when no one else was expecting him. It was curious to watch the bird's excitement as St. Hugh and his attendants gradually drew near. As soon as it heard its master's voice it uttered a cry of joy and advanced with extended wings; it followed the Bishop into the inner court-yard, walked upstairs after him, and entered his bed-chamber, where it remained constantly unless it were driven out by force. The Bishop fed it with his own hands, cutting it a quantity of bread into convenient morsels of the length and thickness of a finger. This practice continued more or less continuously for fifteen years. At length, however, on one memorable day, the Bishop arrived at Stow, but the swan did not come to meet him. The bird remained melancholy and sad in the middle of the lake, and for three days every effort to catch it and bring it into the presence of its beloved master was in vain. At the end of three days, it allowed itself to be caught, but, to the amazement of all, it gave no sign of joy at the sight of the Bishop. It stood with its head hanging down, a picture of sorrow and dejection. Six months afterwards the Bishop died, without ever again visiting Stow. Then we understood that the poor bird had wished to show its grief at bidding its master a last farewell. Nevertheless, the swan itself lived for some years longer."[1]

The contemporaries of the holy Bishop did not hesitate to recognize in these events the finger of God,

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. vii.

who thus manifested the sanctity of His servant. The feelings of that age find expression in the words of a thirteenth-century poet, who wrote a short life of St. Hugh in verse, and thus describes the friendship of the swan for him:

> Hæc avis, in vita candens, in funere cantans,
> Sancti pontificis vitam mortemque figurat;
> Candens dum vivit, notat hunc vixisse pudicum;
> Cantans dum moritur, notat hunc decedere tutum.
>
> Pure white when living, greeting death with song—
> Fit type, dear bird, of one thou lovedst long;
> The Saint, in life as pure as thy white breast—
> In death as fearless, lulled with a song to rest.[1]

We can understand now why painters and sculptors, who love to distinguish the saints by some special emblem, have placed the swan by the side of St. Hugh. No other inscription or device could so well express the sanctity and purity of the Saint in his labours on earth and the serenity of his death, as this graceful and realistic symbol, taken in this case not from a mere legend, but from authentic history.

[1] *Vita Metrica*, v. 1132—1135. Although science contradicts the idea here expressed of the song of the dying swan, yet we still speak of the last effort or the last master-piece of a hero or a genius as the *chant du cygne—the song of the swan.*

## CHAPTER IV.

### *THE BISHOP AND HIS CLERGY.*

The diocese of Lincoln was divided into eight archdeaconries, which extended over more than nine counties,[1] and contained a numerous body of clergy, the direction of whom was the first care of the holy Bishop. Upon the sanctification of the priests really depends the sanctification of the whole Christian people; if the priesthood becomes as salt without savour, the general corruption will soon be unbounded.

We have only to remember the long vacancy of the see of Lincoln, to form some idea of the deplorable state in which St. Hugh found his diocese, and of the terrible abuses which too often dishonoured the ministry. The necessary reforms could only be carried out by filling the most important posts with prudent and zealous coadjutors. Hugh spared no pains in endeavouring to secure such men, and in making them participate in his views.

He had the happy thought of appealing to his Primate, Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and opening his heart to him: "You are too wise," he said, "my reverend Father, not to understand how important

[1] These counties were Lincoln, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Leicester, and Hertford. The county of Cambridge had only been detached at the beginning of the same century, on the foundation of the see of Ely in 1109. This vast diocese thus extended from the Humber to the Thames. It does not seem certain, however, that there were more than seven archdeaconries at the beginning, though there were certainly eight in the thirteenth century.—[Ed.]

it is for my own soul, for the Church over which I rule, and also for yourself, that I should not be a useless pastor. Thanks be to God, I have the will to do what is right; and it is for you to show me the means. I have a special need to surround myself with wise counsellors who will supply for my deficiencies. How can I discover and choose such counsellors, I, who am a stranger in this country? Your long experience must come to my assistance, since you have not feared to lay upon me the burden of the episcopate. Let me beg you then to give me, as my fellow-workers, some of those whom you have trained yourself by word and example."

The Primate was exceedingly edified and pleased by this appeal. He admired the humility and self-distrust of the Saint, his zeal for the reform of his diocese, and the simplicity and delicacy with which he insinuated his dependence upon his Metropolitan. Two of the most distinguished and virtuous priests in England were sent to St. Hugh, in answer to his request, these were, Master Robert, of Bedford, and Master Roger de Rolleston. The former did not long survive to enjoy the confidence of his bishop, but the second was still living, and was Dean of the Chapter of Lincoln, when St. Hugh's biographer wrote.[1]

Other ecclesiastics of similar merit were attracted to the Saint, who sought them not only in England, but also in foreign universities. With their advice and concurrence, he undertook the government of his clergy with a firm hand. He took pains to become personally acquainted with each individual priest, especially with those whom he destined for positions of importance, or for the care of a parish. It is impossible to give any

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. viii. Roger Rolleston became Dean in 1195. By him was drawn up the account of the functions and privileges of the Cathedral Chapter of Lincoln, referred to in the Note at the end of this chapter.—[ED.]

idea of the amount of time and thought which he spent upon these nominations. "I cannot understand," he often said, "how any prelate can be glad to have a vacant benefice to bestow. For myself, I never feel such anxiety and distress of mind, as when I have to appoint some ecclesiastic, who ought to possess all the qualities which are necessary for ecclesiastical dignities. Nothing is more bitter to me than to find myself deceived in my hopes, and to discover that those I have chosen are unworthy of the confidence reposed in them." For even the penetration of the holy Bishop was sometimes at fault. He had often to trust advisers who, while they appeared to be animated by the fear of God, were really swayed by human considerations and sought only to advance the interests of their family or their friends. But as soon as he became aware of this faithlessness, he was extremely indignant, and banished the offenders from his counsels. Taught by experience, he came at last to appoint one of his clergy, a man whom he could thoroughly trust, to examine into the antecedents of all candidates for benefices, and after prudent investigation, to report to himself in each case upon the fitness of the person proposed.

Whenever he conferred the title of Canon upon an ecclesiastic belonging to another diocese, it was always upon the condition that the new Canon should reside henceforth in the diocese of Lincoln. "It is right," said he, "that those who serve the altar, should live by the altar; but those who do not discharge the duties of the ministry, ought not to reap the fruits of it. That is simply a theft from the Church, seeing that such offenders deprive her of the service which is justly her due."[1]

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. xi. We shall see later on, in the present volume, the reply of St. Hugh to a distinguished member of the Academy of Paris, on this same subject. (Bk. iv. ch. ii.)

The Bishop of Lincoln carried this loftiness of mind and this apostolic firmness into every detail of his administration. He was not of the number of those useless dignitaries whom he condemned so strongly and so justly. He laboured incessantly to enhance everywhere the esteem for ecclesiastical learning and holiness of life, and to make each one of his priests that "burning and shining light" of which the Gospel speaks. His taste for theological studies was displayed in the foundation of a School of Theology which soon became famous throughout the country, and which drew to Lincoln many gifted minds, amongst others, Gerald Barry the Welshman, Giraldus Cambrensis, as he is commonly called, who tells us that St. Hugh himself was very learned—*litteratissimus*. The Professor who presided over the theological school was William of Leicester, better known as Gulielmus de Monte, or Montanus,[1] an exceedingly able man and Chancellor of the diocese.[2] No details have come down to us of the means which the holy Bishop took to diffuse abroad the benefits supplied by this centre of learning, but we know that the encouragement he gave to such institutions, and his clear answers to the professors or students who came to consult him, obtained for him the title of the "oracle of the schools" *scholarum consultor*.

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis says he was so called because he had previously given lessons in theology at Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, in Paris. (*De rebus a se gestis*, bk. iii. ch. iii. ; vol. i. of his complete works, p. 93.) Gulielmus Montanus must have been a voluminous writer, especially upon Scriptural subjects ; a long catalogue of works attributed to him is given by Tanner and Bale. Foremost amongst them is mentioned a *Concordantia Bibliorum*, which must have been amongst the earliest attempts of the kind.—[ED.]

[2] We learn from the account of the Lincoln customs supplied to Bishop Bricius, that the Chancellor was *ex officio* head of the Theological School, "officium cancellarii est scholas theologicas regere." No one could lecture in the city of Lincoln without his permission, and it was his privilege also to appoint the masters of all the schools in the county.—[ED.]

At the same time, learning appeared to him of but little value if it was not accompanied by true piety, that wisdom from above, which has for its chief characteristics purity and the love of peace. "First chaste, then peaceable."[1] He never let himself be dazzled by the erudition of those whose private life was in any way disorderly, or who made themselves centres of faction and discord. He sent them away without mercy, as soon as he perceived their faults. On the contrary, he always showed the greatest esteem for the virtuous and the amiable.

Peace was what he loved and desired above all things; the peace of the souls committed to his care; and the peace of his priests by their close union with him, their chief pastor. "Nothing in this life," he said, "is to be compared with the blessing of peace; nothing is so much to be avoided as what causes strife and disunion." It was for this reason that he immediately banished from his diocese all those whom he found sowing the seeds of schism or discontent among their brethren.

With that candour and frankness of speech which he always employed, he exhorted his fellow-Bishops to follow the same course. He was not afraid at such times to speak of the close union which existed between himself and his clergy. "I have learned," he would say, "that it is necessary for me to cherish peace and union with those under my authority. By maintaining this state of things, I fear no mortal man, not even the King; and I preserve that peace in my own soul, which is the pledge and prelude of the eternal rest." Especially did he congratulate himself on his relations with his Canons. "These good lords of mine," he said, when speaking of them, "have never given me cause for uneasiness. It is not that they find

[1] St. James iii. 17.

me too kind and too gentle. On the contrary, I fear that I am wont to be very peppery (*sum revera pipere asperior atque mordacior*) and that when I am presiding over the meetings in Chapter, a very little is sufficient to upset me. But they make a virtue of necessity; and put up with me as I am, after having chosen me in all liberty. I owe them an immense debt of gratitude for their perfect obedience. Ever since I came amongst them, they have never resisted my will in anything whatsoever. When the Chapter is over, and they have all gone out, there is not one of them, I am certain, who doubts of my sincere affection for him, and for my own part, I am convinced that they in turn are all devoted to me."

A very charming picture this, in which the simplicity and straightforwardness of the Saint's own character stands revealed. He possessed in fact that art so difficult of attainment, the art of making himself respected and loved at the same time, of being able to reprove without bitterness, and to praise without flattery, of mixing oil with wine in the remedies he applied, and of making strength go hand in hand with that meekness which is to conquer the earth.

Two Pastoral Constitutions of St. Hugh,[1] issued for the benefit of his Cathedral Canons, have come down to us. The first of them runs thus:

"Hugh, by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincoln, to all the Archdeacons and their officers established in the diocese of Lincoln, health and benediction in the Lord.

"The care of the church of Lincoln, to which God has appointed us, compels us to turn our attention to matters which have heretofore been somewhat

[1] Two or three other similar Constitutions of St. Hugh, which have apparently escaped the notice of the author of this Life, will be touched upon in the Note at the end of the chapter.—[ED.]

neglected, in order that we may apply a suitable remedy. We are especially bound to watch over the interests, present and future, of the Canons who serve God in our Cathedral. Therefore, it is with grief we see an abuse, to which we can no longer shut our eyes, and which ought also to grieve you, to whom the care of the church at Lincoln specially belongs. This church, which has such a great number of children, is slighted by many of them, in that they do not take the trouble to visit her at least once a year, as is the custom in other dioceses, either by coming in person to the Cathedral, or by sending an offering in proportion to their means. We know that this omission is due more to the negligence of the clergy, than to the ignorance of the laity. Wherefore, we command you all, by virtue of our authority, to impress upon all deans, parish priests, and curates, throughout our diocese, the following points: In every parish the clergy must inform their flock, that at the feast of Pentecost, each family is bound to send one or more of its members to the accustomed place appointed for the processions, with suitable offerings, to be given for the remission of their sins, as a proof of obedience, and as a token of their remembrance of their mother, the Church of Lincoln.[1] You must also require the Deans to order

[1] These Pentecostal processions made to the Cathedral Church of the diocese, seem to have been of Norman origin. The earliest mention of the custom which I have found is to be met with in the canons of the *Concilium Juliobonense* of A.D. 1080, which was held by William the Conqueror and William, Archbishop of Rouen, at Lillebonne. In the 9th of the canons drawn up by this assembly it is provided: "Let the priests once a year about the time of Pentecost come with their processions to the mother church, and let a pennyworth of wax (*cereæ denarata*), or its equivalent for each household be offered at the altar for the lighting of the church." Not very much later than this, about 1105, we find from the Life of St. Bernard, Abbot of Tiron (*Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. ii. p. 235), that vast crowds used to assemble at Coutances about the solemnity of Pentecost, "to perform in accordance with the custom of their country

the parish priests and curates under their jurisdiction, by our authority, to keep an accurate list of their parishioners and to make answer at Pentecost to the said Deans and such clerics as we shall appoint for the purpose, informing them which of their parishioners have conformed to our order, as obedient children, and which have neglected to perform this duty."

Another Pastoral Letter, also in favour of the Canons of Lincoln, is conceived in the following terms: "Hugh, by the grace of God Bishop of Lincoln, to his beloved sons in Christ, the Dean and Chapter of our Cathedral Church of Lincoln, health and benediction in the Lord. Since it is our ardent desire for the honour of Almighty God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, at all times to see the Divine Offices celebrated in our Cathedral with every suitable solemnity; we therefore, for the attainment of this end, and in the interests of our Canons and their Vicars, concede the following rights to you, the Dean and resident Canons, or in the absence of the Dean, to the Sub-Dean and resident Canons. In virtue of our episcopal powers, we authorize you to compel those Canons who do not keep residence, to appoint suitable vicars in their place and to furnish them with such adequate means of support as the chapter of resident Canons may decide upon by common consent, and if such non-resident Canons neglect to make this provision, you are to constrain them to do so by detaining the revenues of their

(*juxta morem patriæ*), the procession which they were bound to make to the principal church of the diocese." Similar early allusions to these processions may be found in the case of Auxerre and other French dioceses. In England a great dispute had arisen, only a few years before St. Hugh's time, about this very question of the Pentecostal procession and its offerings, between Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln, and the Abbot of St. Albans. The custom seems to have lasted in this country down to the Reformation, and we find mention of the *Pentecostals*, as these special dues were called, even in the seventeenth century.—[ED.]

prebend. Moreover, we authorize you to take action by means of ecclesiastical censures against all unjust detainers of the revenues of your common fund, and against all who have done injury or hurt to either the persons or the property which belong to the said common fund; and these canonical penalties shall be enforced until complete restitution or satisfaction has been made, always without infringement of the rights of the Bishop and his authority. Moreover, no Archdeacon, or Dean, or any other officer of the see of Lincoln may absolve those whom you have excommunicated or laid under an interdict, without permission from the Bishop, or from you. And we command that all sentences pronounced by you, be executed by the Archdeacons, Deans, and other officers of the diocese."[1]

Besides the light which these letters throw upon the ecclesiastical discipline of the twelfth century, they also bear witness to the zeal of St. Hugh in recalling all his clergy to a sense of their duties, in re-establishing good customs which had fallen into disuse, and in making his authority felt and acknowledged in the smallest country parish, as much as in his Cathedral Church.

Under such a government as this, a great change was soon manifest in the diocese of Lincoln; so great, in fact, as to attract the attention and admiration of all serious observers. Some of the most respected among the Bishops were so struck by the success of St. Hugh, that they desired to learn the secret of it for themselves. Even Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, had recourse to the advice of his suffragan in an affair of moment,

[1] The original Latin text of these constitutions may be found in an appendix to the French edition of this Life. It is not reproduced here, as it is accessible to English scholars among the works of Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls Series) vol. vii., and also in the *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, pp. 307, 308.

which at this time was troubling the peace of that ancient Cathedral City. The difficulty we refer to was caused by a collegiate church which the Primate had begun to build on land belonging to the see, in honour of St. Stephen and St. Thomas of Canterbury. The monks of the Cathedral, who were the custodians of the relics of the great English Martyr, conceived this to be an infringement of their rights and privileges, and opposed the building of the new church with all their might. It was in vain that the Primate, who had just received from Pope Urban III.[1] the archiepiscopal pall and the title of Legate, obtained also that Pontiff's special sanction to carry out this design. The monks knew that the cause could be again referred to Rome, and that another decision might be pronounced reversing the former one. This was the possibility which St. Hugh at once foresaw when the Archbishop asked for his advice in the matter, and which he urged in his reply. "My Lord Archbishop," he wrote, "if this work you have undertaken, should be the cause of a schism between you and your Chapter, it will end so far as the monks are concerned in a great weakening of religious discipline, and so far as regards yourself in a serious blow to your authority. The souls of your flock will suffer much, as it is easy to foresee. The King will want to interfere, and your power will have to bend to his. The Sovereign Pontiff will change his mind, when he has listened to the complaints which are sure to be made against you, and will command you to pull down your church, even if it be completely finished."

The Archbishop, who had this design very much at heart, pleaded that St. Thomas à Becket had himself intended to build this church in honour of St. Stephen. "Yes," replied St. Hugh, "and do you content yourself

[1] See Baronius, *Annal.* ad annum 1186, n. 16.

with having had the same intention as the holy martyr. If you will take my humble advice, you will stop at the intention, and let the work proceed no farther."

But other, and more pleasing counsels, prevailed with the Primate, who continued building his church, instead of remembering those words of Divine wisdom: "The soul of a holy man discovereth sometimes true things, more than seven watchmen that sit in a high place to watch."[1] Everything that the man of God foretold, was realized to the letter.[2] A pontifical decree commanded the entire demolition of the edifice, and the Primate had to obey, to his great chagrin, regretting when too late that he had not taken the advice of the Bishop of Lincoln, who was only confirmed more and more in his pacific ideas. We shall see later on, how the Saint was called upon by the Pope to act as arbitrator in another dispute between the same monks and the successor of Baldwin. It is true that before this came to pass he was himself engaged in more than one conflict, but he had never to fight against his own clergy. On the contrary, it was always in defence of his ecclesiastical family that he felt himself obliged to do battle. If ever he made war, it was with the hope of securing a more lasting peace in the end.

## Note to Book II., Chapter IV.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the author, in preparing this account of the relations of St. Hugh and his clergy, should apparently not have had before him the extremely interesting statement which we possess describing the functions, ceremonial, privileges, &c., of

[1] Ecclus. xxxvii. 18.

[2] Peter of Blois, who was appointed by the Archbishop to plead his cause with the Pope, has left us (let. 211) interesting details of this affair. (Migne, *P.L.* vol. ccvii. col. 492.)

the Cathedral Chapter of Lincoln at the end of the twelfth century. The documents I refer to are preserved in a MS. of the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, whence they were long ago extracted and printed in the first volume of Wilkins' *Concilia Angliæ*.[1] "The fame of the church of Lincoln," to quote the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw's account of the matter, "had become so widespread, especially during the recent episcopate of St. Hugh (1186—1200), that when Bricius, Bishop of Moray, established a miniature Chapter of eight Canons in his newly-settled cathedral church of Spyny, he laid down that they were to have all the privileges and immunities and be subject to the customs of the great church of Lincoln." He accordingly obtained from the Dean, Roger de Rolleston, and other members of the Chapter, a careful statement of their customs, and although in the muniment-room of Lincoln itself we now find amongst the various *Registra Consuetudinum* only compilations of a very much later date, the summary supplied to Bishop Bricius at the beginning of the thirteenth century has happily been preserved to us in Scotland. A Papal confirmation of the charter of erection of the Chapter of Spyny is still in existence, and it is dated 1214. The customs recorded in the accompanying document may therefore be taken as representing the practice of St. Hugh's own time, the more so as the statement of them was drawn up by Roger de Rolleston, who was Dean under St. Hugh, and was chosen by him as one of the executors of his will. No better evidence could be found for the harmonious relations between the Carthusian Bishop and his secular Canons than this adoption of the Lincoln customs by visitors from the far north. It would be impossible here to give any satisfactory account of the details of these customs. I will content

[1] Pp. 534, seq.

myself with calling attention to one very prominent feature, which we know to have been ratified and even amplified by St. Hugh himself in a formal document, which Roger de Rolleston thought it worth while to copy and to transmit with the summary to Bishop Bricius. This constitution declares and confirms the absolute immunity of the Canons in their prebends from all fees and exactions on the part of the Bishop or the Archdeacons of the diocese, and even guarantees the freedom of the parishioners resident upon these prebends from any charges or legal proceedings of the Archdeacons. The powers given to the Canons in this way were so great that they were recognized as possessing jurisdiction over their parishioners in all civil and ecclesiastical causes of every kind, without interference of any man, except that an appeal lay from their decision to the Dean, the Chapter, or the Bishop. "And this," says Roger de Rolleston, "we say without any distinction, whether the aforesaid parishioners be clerics or laymen, whether they be the men and the vassals of the canon himself, or of our lord the king, or of the bishop, or of any baron, or knight, or franklin (*frankelani*), or any other man."

The documents of which we have been speaking also furnish some interesting information about the ceremonial followed by the Lincoln Canons in the time of St. Hugh. This, however, hardly belongs to the present place. I will only remark that it is rather startling to our modern ideas of reverence for the Blessed Sacrament to find that the Canons remained *seated* in their stalls during nearly the whole of the Canon of the Mass, only rising to their feet for a few moments at the Elevation to bow towards the altar, and during the *Pater noster*. This of course was due to no lack of reverence for holy things, but was an inheritance from the different system of an earlier age.

Such usages are mainly if not entirely matters of convention. A Jew wears his hat out of a motive of respect where we for the same reason remove it.

Another constitution of St. Hugh, still preserved to us among the miscellaneous contents of the Lincoln *Liber Niger*, was an arrangement to provide for the daily recitation of the entire psalter (the hundred and fifty psalms) among the different Canons. There was, says the preamble to the document, an ancient institute (*antiqua institutio*) of the Church of Lincoln, by which one Mass and one psalter were said every day on behalf of benefactors living and dead. "We are then told that all the Canons are bound by oath to observe the reasonable customs (*rationabiles consuetudines*) of the Church; that the customary mode of saying the psalter (the assignment of particular psalms to particular members of the Chapter) had been lost; and that to save the Canons from violating their oath, an order had been drawn up by the Dean and other discreet members of the Chapter, which was now passed in Chapter, the Bishop (St. Hugh) being present and confirming the order." From the data given the statute must belong to the closing years of the twelfth century (1195—1200).[1] In accordance with this distribution, St. Hugh himself will have had to recite every day for the souls of the benefactors of this church the first three psalms, *Beatus vir*, *Quare fremuerunt*, and *Domine quid multiplicati sunt*.

Finally, a brief reference may be made here to certain disciplinary ordinances promulgated by St. Hugh in his diocesan synods, and preserved to us in the chronicle of Benedict, sub anno 1186. Of these something more will be said further on in the Note to Book III. ch. 4.—[Ed.]

[1] *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, edited by Henry Bradshaw, pp. 37, 38.

## CHAPTER V.

### *THE AFFAIR OF THE GRAND FORESTER.*

After the conquest of England by the Normans, new and more severe forest laws oppressed the Saxon people. "The chase," writes Lingard, "was the principal amusement of our Norman kings, who, for this reason, took possession of all the forests throughout the kingdom, and cared much more for the preservation of their wild animals, than for the life or well-being of their subjects. The royal forests had their own officers and magistrates; they were governed by a peculiar code of laws, and their immunities were jealously maintained in the court of the chief forester, a bloody tribunal, where the slightest offence was punished by the loss of eyes or members."[1] Perhaps it is just to remark here that these cruel laws seem to have been designed, not only to protect the pleasures of the Norman kings, but to keep the Anglo-Saxons from rebellion, by depriving them of their forests, always the last asylum of a conquered race.

When Henry II. came to the throne, he modified some of the barbarous ordinances of his predecessors, and substituted fines and imprisonment, for mutilation or death.[2] But even with these mitigations, the forest

[1] See Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i. ch. xii.

[2] It seems difficult in the face of the statements of Matthew Paris (sub anno 1232), quoted by Mr. W. R. Fisher in *The Forest of Essex*, p. 70, to believe that the punishment of mutilation was finally remitted by Henry II., for offences against the forest laws. The credit of this mitigation is given by Matthew Paris to his successors Richard and John. Bishop Stubbs

laws weighed heavily on the people, and were universally hated, as we read in a letter of Peter of Blois, who echoes the complaints which were sounding all around him. He wrote eloquently to the King: "The innumerable agents of the foresters and rangers, greedy to satisfy their avarice and cupidity, rob and despoil the poor in every way; they lay snares for the simple, they show favour to the wicked, they oppress the innocent, they rejoice and congratulate each other on doing as much evil as possible. . . . They hunt the poor, as if they were wild animals, and devour them for a prey."[1] The chaplain of St. Hugh expresses his indignation in equally strong terms. "Among the scourges of England," he says, "we must put in the first rank, the tyranny of the foresters, a tyranny which ravages the whole country. Violence is their law, rapine is their glory. They have a horror of justice, and look upon innocence as a crime. No condition, no nobility, no dignity, with the single exception of royalty itself, can secure a man against their atrocious cruelties. The first great struggle of Hugh was against this tyranny, and it was also the occasion of his first triumph."[2]

As we have already seen, St. Hugh, while still Prior

says: "The punishments prescribed by the Assize of the Forest (A.D. 1184), are milder than those usual under Henry I., but the rigour with which the law was enforced was a great ground of complaint against Henry II., and this is altogether the part of his administration which savours most strongly of tyranny." (*Select Charters*, p. 157.)—[ED.]

[1] Petri Blois, *Epist.* 95. Migne, *P.L.* vol. ccvii. p. 298.

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 9. "The husbandmen," says John of Salisbury, "are kept from their fields so that the wild beasts may roam over them. That these may have more room for grazing, the soil is taken from the cultivators, the newly sown grounds from the farmers, the pastures from the herdsmen and shepherds; the beehives are shut out from the flower beds, and the bees themselves are scarcely allowed their natural liberty." (*Polycraticus*, bk. i. ch. 4.) It was intended that the bees should be driven to take shelter in the woods, where the honey would belong to the King.—[ED.]

of Witham, was extremely indignant with the foresters. Now that he had become a Bishop, and therefore the pastor and protector of the people committed to his care, he could not shut his eyes to the oppressive conduct of these officials, and he determined to employ against them, not only the weapons of vigorous protest, but also of ecclesiastical censure. A less intrepid prelate would at least have waited until time had strengthened his position and influence; and there was the very recent memory of the holy Martyr of Canterbury, to illustrate the danger incurred by any prelate who was bold enough to excommunicate the officers of the King. But St. Hugh did not shrink from taking advantage of the first opportunity that occurred, for declaring war against the foresters. As soon as they attempted to interfere with the tenants and subjects of the Church of Lincoln, who should have been protected from their exactions by ecclesiastical immunity, the holy Bishop, then recently enthroned, at once excommunicated the chief forester himself, named Galfrid, without reference to the King or his possible wishes. When the news of this bold step was brought to Henry II., he fell into a violent passion.[1] Such an act was a direct violation of the privilege he had claimed for the crown at Clarendon. "No tenant *in capite*," so the clause ran, "and no officer of the

[1] There is no doubt that the forests were in a very immediate way subject to the King, and that St. Hugh was justified, as we have seen above, p. 109, in holding him personally responsible for abuses. Bishop Stubbs talks of his "uncontrolled jurisdiction" in this province, and notes that the forests were "out of the scope of the common law of the realm." Nevertheless, so well informed a writer as Mr. W. R. Fisher declares: "Much of the hardship suffered by the inhabitants of the forests arose from the arbitrary regulations of the forest officers and from the manner in which they enforced the laws, as much as from the laws themselves. This appears from various ordinances, by which relief was given against demands not directly authorized by the general forest laws and by the proceedings of the forest courts." (*Forest of Essex*, p. 52.)—[ED.]

King, shall be excommunicated, or his land laid under an interdict, unless the matter is first referred to the King, or if he be absent from the country, to his officers, in order that justice may be done."[1] Even though he had retracted this ordinance with the other Constitutions of Clarendon, the King, nevertheless, expected it to be observed in practice. However, he disguised his resentment at first, and waited until some other event should occur which would give him a favourable opportunity for showing his displeasure with the Bishop and obtaining reparation.

While matters were in this state, a Canon of Lincoln died, and left his prebend vacant. The courtiers being informed of this, advised the King to write to the Bishop, in order to obtain this important benefice for one of themselves. In this way, they thought they would be giving the Bishop an opportunity of reinstating himself in the King's favour, and at the same time would be serving their own interests. Henry II. did not hesitate to do as was suggested to him, for he was very anxious to know exactly how he stood with this new Bishop of his, and how far he could go.

The messengers of the King had not to take a very long journey. Henry was then at his castle of Woodstock, and the Bishop was at Dorchester, which was only thirteen miles from the royal residence. Hugh read the King's letter, and without misunderstanding the gravity of the situation, made his decision at once. Instead of granting the request, or even setting out to explain by word of mouth the reason of his refusal, and to justify his conduct with regard to the Grand Forester, he simply replied to the messengers: "Tell the King that ecclesiastical benefices are not to be bestowed upon courtiers, but upon ecclesiastics. Holy Scripture does not say that those who possess them

[1] Constitutions of Clarendon, art. 7.

are to be officials of the palace, or of the treasury, or of the exchequer, but only that they must be servants of the altar. My lord the King has plenty of other rewards for those in his employment; he has temporal gifts to give them, in exchange for temporal service. And if he wishes to save his soul, he must allow the soldiers of the King of kings to enjoy the revenues which they need, without seeking to despoil them." These were all the compliments and excuses which the messengers carried back with them. Hugh did not even take the trouble to write his answer, but dismissed his visitors without further ceremony.

When the Bishop's reply was received at Woodstock, Henry could not conceal the fury which took possession of him, and the courtiers were not slow to fan the flame. "My lord," they said, "now you see the ingratitude of this man, whom you have loaded with benefits; you see what has been the end of all your generous efforts, you, who took so much pains to raise him to the episcopate. If he contented himself simply with showing you no gratitude, we should be less astonished. But now he insults you, in return for the honour you have done him. It is very easy to foretell what you may expect from him in the future, when he already begins to treat you with contempt, and has pronounced such a harsh sentence upon one of your chief officers."

There was not much need to excite the anger of the passionate monarch, who, nevertheless, still kept it under a certain control, and sent a new messenger to the Bishop, commanding him at once to appear in the royal presence at Woodstock, and give an explanation of his conduct. Hugh obeyed the King's mandate, and set out with a serene countenance, and a tranquil heart. What cause had he for fear, when he was resolved to sacrifice all for the sake of duty? The Bishop of Lincoln would have hesitated no more than St. Thomas

of Canterbury, to shed his blood in defence of the liberty of the Church.

Perhaps Henry II. had not the intention of proceeding to extremities, but he wished at least to humiliate him, and force him to make a public reparation for the supposed insult. Therefore, when he heard that the Bishop was approaching, he called the members of his Court around him, mounted his horse, and retired into a neighbouring forest. There he stopped, sat down in a pleasant woodland glade, ordered his courtiers to sit in a circle round him, and forebade any of them to rise in the presence of the disgraced Bishop, or to return his greeting. A few moments afterwards, St. Hugh came upon the scene; he saluted the King and his Court, but no one made any response to his courtesy. Then, without being in the least embarrassed by the freezing silence, he walked up to the King, gently touched the shoulder of the courtier next him, to make room for himself, and calmly sat down beside the King. The silence continued, the King kept his eyes fixed upon the ground. But after a few minutes, feeling the constraint and awkwardness of the situation, he asked one of his attendants for a needle and thread, and began to sew a little piece of linen round one of his fingers, which was cut. All the while, like a man too angry to speak, he said not a word, nor took the slightest notice of the intruder.

The Bishop perfectly understood the meaning of this theatrical reception, but he was not at all afraid. He turned to the King, and said with a familiarity which only their former friendship could have warranted: "Now, do you know, you look exactly like your ancestress at Falaise!" At this unexpected sally, the point of which he immediately understood, the King was seized with a fit of uncontrollable laughter. The courtiers around him were stupefied with astonishment.

A few of them, who caught the drift of the Bishop's allusion, were amazed at his audacity at such a time, and scarcely dared to smile. The others, who had not understood the pleasantry, looked uneasily from one to another in search of an explanation. The King himself supplied it. His mood had suddenly changed, and the serene confidence of the servant of God had completely calmed his resentment. "You do not understand," he said, smilingly, "the impertinence which this foreigner has just addressed to me. I will explain his words to you. The mother of my ancestor, William of Normandy, who conquered England, belonged originally to the common people. She was a native of Falaise, a Norman town famed especially for its tan-yards.[1] And, seeing me occupied in sewing this piece of linen round my finger, he dared to remind me of the fact, and to compare me to the glove-makers of Falaise."

The King had laughed, therefore he had laid down his arms. Nevertheless, after having thus graciously accepted a compliment, which certainly was more audacious than flattering, he began to question the Bishop of Lincoln about what he had done. He did so abruptly, but with kindness. "Now," he said, "tell me, holy man, why you have excommunicated my Grand Forester, and why, afterwards, you refused me a small request, without taking the trouble to come to me, or to send any excuse by my messengers?" The Bishop replied: "My lord King, I know all you have done to obtain for me the episcopal dignity. And it follows from that, that your soul would be in great danger if I did not fulfil all the duties of my position, and if I did not defend the interests of the diocese which you have committed to my care. That is why

[1] William the Conqueror, grandfather of Henry II., was a natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and of Hervele, or Harlotte, the daughter of a tanner at Falaise.

I have been obliged to punish with ecclesiastical censures, an oppressor of my Church; that is why I could not bestow a prebend upon a person who had no canonical right to it. Was it necessary for me to consult your Excellence, before taking action in these matters? I do not think so. It did not seem to me either necessary or expedient, and I believed that your own good sense would have shown you what was right, and that my conduct would have had your approval."

This firm and dignified answer was well received by the King. He could not deny the justice of it; he affectionately embraced the man of God, and recommended himself to his prayers. Nothing more was said about the prebend, and the absolution of the Grand Forester was left entirely in the hands of the Bishop. Hugh exacted the usual conditions. This distinguished personage, who eventually showed every sign of a sincere repentance, had to submit himself, as well as those who aided and abetted him, to a public flagellation. After having received the discipline, he was absolved and blessed by the Bishop. What is more, he understood the uprightness of the Saint's intentions so well, that he afterwards became one of his greatest friends, and rendered him every possible service.

From this time, the censures of the holy Bishop were much feared, and his authority, thus vindicated in the beginning of his administration, was completely established without any further difficulty, both in his own diocese and at Court. By this fresh victory, he was delivered from the importunities of the King's followers, who would never otherwise have ceased to ask for the benefices of his Church; and at the same time, he secured their esteem and their respect. Many of them were so entirely devoted to him, that he used to say, if it were not for the bonds which attached them

to the Court, he would have been glad to appoint them to some of the best prebends in his gift.

Thus delivered, at all events for a time, from any difficulties on the part of the King, Hugh now devoted himself entirely to the care of his diocese, and to all good works for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls. Amongst these, one of the most pressing and not the least important, was the rebuilding of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, of which we have now to speak.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *THE CATHEDRAL OF LINCOLN.*

The Venerable Bede tells us that one of the first stone churches in England was built at Lincoln, in the seventh century, by Paulinus, Bishop of York, who began the conversion of this ancient city by making a Christian of its Governor.[1] This church, remarkable for its beauty, considering the date of its construction,[2] became a place of pilgrimage, famous for the miracles worked there. Nevertheless, it was not a Cathedral, and its memory was effaced by the magnificent building afterwards erected, which is one of the glories of the architecture of the middle ages.

The history of this church is also the history of the diocese of Lincoln. We will touch briefly upon its principal features, in order to give prominence to the part taken by St. Hugh in this immortal creation.

In its primitive form, the Cathedral of Lincoln was built by the first Bishop of the diocese, Remigius, formerly Abbot of Fécamp, who came to England in the train of William of Normandy, and was appointed Bishop of Dorchester in 1070. Five years later, by order of a Council held in London, it was enjoined that all episcopal seats which were exposed to attack from their unprotected situation should be transferred to some walled town. It seems to have been about this time, therefore, that Remigius, acting on the decision

[1] Venerable Bede, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* bk. ii. ch. 16.

[2] "Ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit." (*Ibid.*)

of Pope Alexander and Archbishop Lanfranc,[1] transferred his episcopal throne to Lincoln, where a fortified castle, constructed within the last few years, could protect his residence, and later on the Cathedral which he hoped to build. Full of enthusiasm and energy, as well as of piety and charity to the poor, this worthy predecessor of St. Hugh laid the foundations of an imposing edifice in the Byzantine style, which was much in vogue at that time, especially in Normandy. The work went on rapidly, and the Bishop was preparing for the solemn consecration of his new church, when he died on the very eve of the day appointed for the ceremony, May 8, 1092.[2]

His successor, Robert Bloet, a former chaplain of William the Conqueror, had the consolation of opening the church to the piety of the faithful, and of dedicating it to our Lady. We may mention here, that during the lifetime of this same prelate, the Church of Saint Mary, or Our Lady of Lincoln, was one of the churches which contributed an eulogium, in Latin verse, to the mortuary-roll of St. Bruno, in which the virtues of the illustrious founder of the Carthusians are eloquently summed up and extolled.[3]

[1] *Monast. Anglic.* iii. 258. It may be added that Dorchester, situated as it is upon the Thames in the extreme S.W. corner of the great tract of country then included in the diocese, was obviously unfitted to be the site of the cathedral city.—[ED.]

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote his Life, gives him the title of "Saint," and relates several miracles worked by his intercession.

[3] These mortuary-rolls, the *albums* of the middle ages, were a conspicuous feature of the religious life of the twelfth and subsequent centuries, and originated in the practice of the different monasteries banding themselves together in a sort of association, to pray for the deceased members of each other's communities. From this resulted a custom of each religious house sending out from time to time a circular letter addressed to the others associated with it, and containing the names of the dead to be prayed for. When any person of special prominence died, it became usual, even among seculars, to draw up a memorial commemorative of his dignity or virtues, and, inscribing this at the head of a long roll of

It was right and fitting, therefore, that in after years a son of St. Bruno, become Bishop of Lincoln, should lovingly set himself to the task of restoring the Cathedral Church which had thus deserved well of his Order. However, before St. Hugh's time, important repairs had already been executed in the original building by Bishop Alexander, after a fire which took place in 1124.[1] Some authors also attribute to him the erection of the stone vaulting of the nave. In any case, he left his successors, Robert of Chesney and Walter of Coutances, little to do; but in the very year when this last Bishop was translated to the archbishopric of Rouen, that is to say, in 1185, an earthquake took place which completely destroyed the roof and left wide fissures in the side walls.

It was in this ruinous state that St. Hugh found the

blank parchment, to entrust the document to a messenger who travelled from one monastery to another, soliciting the prayers of the inmates for the deceased. At each halting-place the community affixed to the blank portion of the roll their "title," *i.e.*, the name of the monastery, with the addition of some little formula promising prayers. As time went on, these "titles" were often augmented with a few words of sympathy for the bereaved community to which the deceased had belonged, and as a further development a copy of verses was in some cases composed and written upon the roll, as people now write verses in a lady's album, generally eulogizing the deceased at considerable length. A copy of the mortuary-roll sent out by the companions of St. Bruno after his death is still preserved to us, and abounds in verse tributes of this kind. From the entries on the roll we discover that the messenger who carried it, starting from Calabria, where St. Bruno died, travelled the whole length of Italy, passed backwards and forwards through France, crossed the Channel into England, when he visited Lincoln amongst other places, and brought away the copy of verses referred to in the text, and finally returned to France again. We learn from dates inscribed on the roll that he must have taken more than a year over his journey. The reader may be referred to an article on this subject, entitled "A Mediæval Mortuary-Card," in *The Month* for December, 1896.—[ED.]

[1] There is much obscurity as to the date and the amount of damage done by this fire. Henry of Huntingdon, our best authority, assigns the fire to about 1145, and he says nothing of the church being vaulted by Alexander. (See Dimock, Preface to Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vol. vii, p. xxx.)—[ED.]

Cathedral when he took possession of his diocese. He immediately set to work to rebuild it on a new plan. While preserving the beautiful remains of the former edifice, he adopted the new style which was then coming into favour and had already been employed at Angers, at Poitiers, and at Tours.[1] In this way he became the second founder of the great Cathedral, and must be counted among the Bishops who took the lead in that wonderful movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to which we owe the masterpieces of architectural skill which are the marvel of all time.

After the heroic enthusiasm which gave birth to the Crusades, nothing in the middle ages is more wonderful than the creation of these Cathedrals. The vivid faith of that epoch seems, as it were, to have taken flesh in these superb erections, with their lofty vaulting, their slender columns, their colossal towers, their magnificent stained glass, and their innumerable ornaments of stone, of all which the pointed arch is the distinguishing characteristic. Whatever may be the opinion of archæologists as to the origin of the pointed arch itself, it is certain that Gothic architecture came into being in the twelfth century, and was the offspring of a piety which struggled to find some new and unheard-of expression for its spiritual aspirations, for its triumphant sense of the spread of Catholicism. In words that are well known, but which it is always delightful to read again, M. de Montalembert has given eloquent expression to the true secret of Gothic architecture. Although he is speaking especially of the thirteenth century, his remarks may well be applied to the end of the twelfth, which was to the century that followed it, as the dawn to the perfect day.

"It seems," he says, "as if that stirring and upheaval

[1] In reference to this statement see the note at the end of the chapter.—[ED.]

of the spiritual world brought home to us in the lives of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Louis, could find no other outward expression than in these gigantic Cathedrals, soaring heavenwards with their towers and spires, as though they would carry with them to the throne of God an universal homage of love and victorious faith from all Christian hearts. The vast basilicas of the ages that had gone before seemed too bare, too heavy, too empty for the emotions of the present hour, for the swift upward flight of a faith which had renewed its youth like the eagle. This living flame of faith needed to transform itself into stone and leave its monument behind it. Pontiffs and architects sought after some new combination which might embody the wealth of spiritual aspirations of which Christianity became suddenly conscious. They found it in the outline of those slender pillars which in a Christian Church stand fronting each other, until, mounting higher and higher, like prayers ascending to Heaven, they bend before the face of God, and meet one another in a sisterly embrace: it is that bending and embracing which has given us the pointed arch. From the thirteenth century onwards, when this architectural feature first came to prevail universally, a change has swept over the spirit of Christian art, not indeed in the interior and mystical significance of our religious buildings, but in their external form. Instead of those roofs brooding over the earth, spreading far and wide to afford shelter to the faithful, everything in the new architecture soars heavenwards, and leads the soul up to God. . . . Innumerable beauties of structure and form came into being in this new blossoming of the earth made fruitful by the faith of Christ, and in every church we see in the marvellous elaboration of capitals, steeples, and window-tracery, the same fecundity in some measure renewed."[1]

[1] *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.* Montalembert. (Introduction).

To undertake and carry on the construction of these Cathedrals, it was needful to combine the efforts of every kind of talent and resource. Every one who could help had to be pressed into the service. Rich and poor, priests and monks, workmen and artists, confraternities and other associations, united their forces. The building of a great church called out an army who marched to their work as the Crusaders marched to battle.

In the middle of the twelfth century, for instance, the spectacle might have been seen of whole bands of voluntary workers harnessing themselves to the carts which were to draw the necessary materials for building the Church of Our Lady of Chartres. Their example was followed in Normandy by men of all classes of the people, as Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen, relates in a letter dated 1145. He says:

"These voluntary labourers admit no one to share their toil, unless he has first confessed his sins and done penance for them, unless he has renounced all animosity and desire of vengeance, and is in perfect charity with all his enemies. When all this is satisfactorily arranged, the band elect a chief from among themselves, under whose guidance they drag along the carts in silence and humility, and present their offerings with tears of contrition, taking the discipline the while. . . . Often their faith is rewarded by miracles which God works upon the sick persons who accompany them, and these have the joy of returning home perfectly cured."[1]

About the same time, Aimon, Abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive, in the diocese of Séez, wrote a similar account to the monks of Tutbury, in England. His church owed its completion to one of these remarkable associations of voluntary workers which were then common

[1] Migne, *P.L.*, vol. cxcii. p. 1127.

throughout Normandy. The writer speaks in the highest terms of the faith and the piety displayed in these gatherings, which were specially conspicuous for their devotion to our Blessed Lady.

"When the labourers arrived at the place where the church was to be built," he says, "they made a circle with the carts they had dragged there, so as to form a kind of spiritual camp, in which during the whole of the night following the army mounted guard in relays, singing hymns and canticles. The sick and infirm were laid in the carts, and lamps and candles were lighted, while relics of the Saints were placed beside each in hope that the sufferers might obtain some relief. Prayers were offered for them, and processions formed under the direction of the clergy, to obtain their cure from our Lord and His Blessed Mother."[1]

At the end of his account, Aimon asserts that these things were to be witnessed more especially during the building of churches in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

Such examples could not fail to attract a good deal of attention in England, and we may well believe that St. Hugh must have quoted them as a model to his own people. However that may be, the radiant vision of Mary smiled upon the work with the sweetest and most powerful encouragement. Under the spell of that beloved name, there was no difficulty in bringing together men of good-will, and making them understand that nothing could be too beautiful to give expression to the immaculate loveliness of the Mother of God, and so, to honour the Infinite Beauty of which she is the reflection. Hugh had nothing to do but to confirm the dedication already chosen for his Cathedral, but

[1] Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, bk. 78, n. 67; Migne, *P.L.*, vol. clxxxi. p. 1707.

never before had the name of Our Lady of Lincoln been pronounced with such filial tenderness, never before had it called forth such a manifestation of devotion.

To raise a monument worthy of her whom he loved to style his Lady and his Queen, Hugh was ready to bestow, not only his revenues, but his own personal service. He himself worked as a labourer, like a general who does the duty of a common soldier in order to encourage his troops. With some such object as this, the Bishop of Lincoln was to be seen hewing stones and carrying bricks and mortar, in the midst of a crowd of workmen. The fact might have been forgotten, but for a miracle which took place and has perpetuated the memory of it. One Good Friday, a poor lame man, leaning on two crutches, was so struck by the sight of the Bishop's humility, that he asked as a favour to be allowed to use the rough hod which the Saint had just been carrying over his shoulder. The cripple did this in the spirit of faith, receiving the tool as a pledge of his cure. His confidence was not deceived, for in a very short time after the hod was laid upon his shoulder, he drew himself up, completely cured, threw away his crutches, and walked without difficulty.[1]

While vigorously pushing on the execution of his great work, St. Hugh did not neglect to stamp it with the impress of his own conceptions. He had already chosen an architect worthy of such an undertaking, to whom he imparted his ideas. And when the Bishop was on his death-bed, we shall see this same artist,

[1] *Vita Metrica*, v. 836—846. *Annal. Ord. Carthus.* vol. iii. p. 79, which quotes: *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 15, though in Mr. Dimock's edition, bk. iii. has but 14 chapters and the story is omitted altogether. We should perhaps be justified in reconstructing from this incident some such scene of organized but voluntary labour of the populace, as those we have just been reading of in the building of the churches of Normandy

whose name was Geoffrey de Noiers, summoned to receive his last instructions.[1]

The rebuilding of the Cathedral went on steadily, one part being finished before another part was begun, so that the Offices of the Church could be performed without waiting for its final completion. And, in fact, this did not take place until after the death of St. Hugh. We may add that one special care of the holy Bishop was to provide amply for the lighting of the Cathedral. He pressed this so far that at night the brilliancy of the thousands of wax-candles vied, it is said, with the light of day.[2]

According to an English account, printed at Lincoln,[3] the actual Cathedral owes to St. Hugh the east transept, the whole of the choir, the chapter-house, the east side of the west transept, and a part of the additions made to the west front, the great arches of which belong to the Byzantine style of the Norman school, and date from the first construction of the edifice. If St. Hugh did not live long enough to finish his work, at least it owed its principal developments to his initiative. The Bishop second in succession from him, Hugh of Wells, a prelate of great merit, was particularly careful to carry out the designs of his predecessor and namesake. And it is believed that this second Hugh finished the nave, in accordance with the plans of his namesake, and so completed that part of the Cathedral which is known to Lincoln antiquaries as "the Church of St. Hugh;" that is to say, three quarters of the actual building. The pointed style, with *lancet* windows, characterizes the completed work of the Saint, and distinguishes it, both from the earlier

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 16. [2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 19.

[3] *An Historical Account of Lincoln Cathedral.* Lincoln: W. and B. Brooke. It seems certain, however, that the chapter-house is not St. Hugh's work. Cf. *e.g.* the excellent account of Lincoln in King's *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England*, published by Murray.—[ED.]

survivals of the Norman period, and from the later Gothic work in the decorated style.

Taken as a whole, the Cathedral of Lincoln is really the achievement of the man who began it, and completed the most essential portion of the fabric.[1] At the south angle of the magnificent west front, is still to be seen a statue, which tradition declares to be that of St. Hugh. However much, therefore, the Reformation may have turned aside the hearts of the people from the faith which he professed, his memory has not been wholly eradicated in the city which was the scene of his labours.

The traveller, as he approaches Lincoln, is struck with admiration long before he reaches it, at the sight of the old Cathedral with its three grand towers, which from the hill-top overshadows the town and the whole surrounding country. Even if he is familiar with the finest religious monuments of France and England, he cannot fail to be impressed by this edifice, which can bear comparison with the Cathedrals of Chartres, of Amiens, of Bourges, or those of Canterbury, York, and Salisbury, or indeed with any other masterpiece of the middle ages. Built in the form of an archiepiscopal cross, that is to say, with a double transept, the Cathedral of Our Lady of Lincoln is composed longitudinally of eighteen large bays, and is supported by a multitude of pillars and smaller columns, a very forest of marble and stone, forming a vista of marvellous richness.[2]

[1] It may be remarked that the exquisitely beautiful "angel choir," which has replaced the apse in which the church terminated according to the original plan, also owes its origin to St. Hugh, in this sense that it was built to do honour to the shrine of the holy Bishop, when, in consequence of the miracles wrought at his tomb, Lincoln, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, became a great place of pilgrimage.—[Ed.]

[2] The author of the *Vita Metrica*, when describing the Cathedral of Lincoln, poetically and symbolically, speaks of these columns thus :

Inde columnellæ, quæ sic cinxere columnas,
Ut videantur ibi quamdam celebrare choream.

(*Vita Metrica*, vv. 882, 883.)

"Nothing in the churches of Great Britain," says a competent author of our own days, "can surpass the boldness and elegance of the central tower. The designer's craft has brought into play all the resources of ingenuity and art. The tower is square, having the angles supported and at the same time decorated by buttresses, surmounted with small steeples; each face is pierced with pointed windows, upon which has been lavished the most delicate tracery. Finally the battlements, which surmount the whole, are worked out in a marvellous combination of rich mouldings and floriated ornaments. The height of the whole is about 240 feet. The central tower of St. Ouen, at Rouen, is the only one we know which can compare advantageously with that of Lincoln Cathedral. The two towers of the west front are hardly less imposing."[1]

At some little distance are still to be seen the ruins of the ancient episcopal palace, which was begun by Bishop Robert of Chesney, continued by St. Hugh, to whom is specially due the fine central hall, and finished by Hugh of Wells. And as he looks from these crumbling walls, covered with ivy, towards the towers of the Cathedral, and then out upon the town and its suburbs beneath, the Catholic visitor cannot help being deeply moved at the thought of all the desolation, the ruins heaped upon ruins, which have accumulated in the Church of England since the religious convulsion of the sixteenth century. When will the hour come for that great restoration, which is so ardently longed for by all who have at heart the true progress of the Kingdom of God? When will Our Lady of Lincoln be once more the object of a loving and filial homage in that church erected in her honour, and overflowing in days gone by with the rich offerings there laid at her feet? When will the doors of the Cathedral open

[1] L'Abbé Bourassé, *Les plus belles Eglises du monde*, p. 353.

again to welcome a Catholic Bishop, true heir of the faith and virtue of St. Hugh, and in communion with the successors of St. Peter, who first sent apostles to England? When will the Roman Church again take possession of this monument, built by her faithful sons, and still bearing witness to the antiquity and immutability of the Faith that was once delivered to the saints? When will a Pontifical High Mass, celebrated once again as in the twelfth century, gather the faithful together in this magnificent edifice, where every line converges towards the altar, and where every sumptuous detail invokes the presence of our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist? We cannot pray too much or too earnestly for the dawn of that day of reparation and justice, which will ensure the salvation of so many souls, and fill with so true a joy the hearts of all faithful children of the Church.

## Note to Book II. Chapter VI.

It is natural that the French author of the Life here translated should look upon architectural questions from the point of view common amongst his own countrymen, or rather amongst a section of his own countrymen. In England, there is a very general disposition to regard the extraordinary architectural development which marked this period as of spontaneous and native growth, and the substantial agreement with our own native authorities of such an antiquary as M. Viollet le Duc,[1] is a proof that this theory has not been taken up lightly, nor maintained merely in a

[1] In a letter printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1861, M. Viollet le Duc says, amongst other things: "After the most careful examination I could not find in any part of the cathedral of Lincoln, neither in the general design, nor in any part of the system of architecture adopted, nor in any details of ornament any trace of the French school of the twelfth century (the lay school from 1170 to 1220), so plainly characteristic of the cathedrals of Paris, Noyon, Senlis, Chartres, Sens, and even

spirit of national prejudice. On almost all hands it is admitted that to St. Hugh, the Burgundian Bishop of Lincoln, is due the credit of having led the way in this great movement. But while his enlightenment and energy gave the necessary stimulus to the erection of the beautiful Cathedral of his see upon lines with which neither England nor any part of Christendom were yet familiar, there is every reason to believe that both the architect, Geoffrey de Noiers,[1] and the workmen whom he employed were Englishmen, and that the distinctive beauties of the style which they inaugurated in this country were not copied by them from abroad. I may illustrate the view generally current in England upon this subject by a quotation from a recent work intended to be representative of the best modern research.

"Our first purely national architecture," says Dr. Hughes, "known to us as 'the Early English style,' came into being in the reign of Richard I., and is the one good thing which accrued to England under that most execrable of all our monarchs. Its birth was presided over by Hugh of Dauphiné, Bishop of Lincoln,

Rouen. . . . The construction is English; the profiles of the mouldings are English; the ornaments are English." In the same volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* will be found much information about the family of the architect De Noiers.

[1] Sir Gilbert Scott having, in the original draft of his *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, protested with regard to St. Hugh's work at Lincoln: "If then a French architect was engaged here, he must not only have made over the details of his work wholly to Englishmen, but have studiously followed English forms in the general features;" had occasion subsequently to add a footnote: "This notion has since been entirely disproved, and the architect proved to have been a member of an English family." Again, he states: "The general distribution of the parts seems to me English rather than French, and though the work displays some idiosyncrasies, I do not see in them anything to indicate a French origin, unless it be the capitals of the main pillars; indeed, it is a work in which distinctively English characteristics appear in a somewhat advanced stage of development." (Vol. i. p. 196.)

commonly called St. Hugh of Burgundy. He died in 1200, and was buried behind the high altar in his unfinished church. His work is remarkable in two ways: first, because it is the first example of pure pointed Gothic (of Gothic, that is, without the least tincture of Romanesque) to be found in England, and not in England alone, but in all Europe; and secondly, because though there is a youthful, we might say a girlish delicacy about it, it is neither tentative nor immature. All the true characteristics are present. We have the clustered shafts, the elegant crockets (conventional out-curled leaves), the pointed trefoil arch, the narrow lancet-shaped windows, the stalked foliage of the capitals. The history of the transition, of course, makes it certain that it was in fact a case of evolution, and not of sudden separate creation; but the casual looker-on would certainly be justified in thinking that the Early English style, like Pallas from the head of Zeus, sprang full-grown and full-armed from the brain of the architects at Lincoln and Ely. This is true of St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln, built in the last ten years of the twelfth century, it is emphatically true of the galilee of Ely, built in the first fifteen years of the thirteenth century; than which no more perfect example is to be found in the world."[1]

The antiquary, Mr. J. H. Parker, in a paper printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xliii., on "The English Origin of Gothic Architecture," relies mainly for his evidence upon the fabric of the choir of Lincoln Cathedral and its relation to the first building with which St. Hugh was connected, the still existing "Church of the Friary" of Witham. Again Professor Freeman declares: "Before the twelfth century had run its course, the fully developed pointed architecture had reached its perfection—not at the hands of a Frenchman at St.

[1] *Social England*, vol. i. p. 327. Edited by H. D. Traill.

Denis, but at the hands of the Saint whom imperial Burgundy gave to England. What Diocletian did at Spalato for the round arch, St. Hugh did at Lincoln for the pointed arch."[1] Similarly, Sir Gilbert Scott, in the *Associated Architectural Societies Reports*, vol. xii., describes St. Hugh as "one whom we properly associate with one of the most mighty onward steps ever taken in the architecture of our country," adding, that "St. Hugh's great work may be supposed to have been on the very crest of the wave of progress."[2] St. Hugh's chief title to fame rests, it is true, upon higher grounds than these, but it is well to point out that in his case, as in so many others, personal holiness was no obstacle to his becoming the benefactor of his country, and the friend of all true progress and enlightenment.

It is worth while to point out that St. Hugh's contemporaries were quite alive to the boldness and originality of the conceptions carried out in the building of Lincoln Cathedral. "He began," says Ralph de Coggeshall, "in honour of the Mother of God, a certain new style of church after a graceful design (*novam quandam ecclesiam eleganti schemate*), which seems to surpass all the other cathedrals of England in a certain elegance of its proportions (*quadam structuræ elegantia*), and this he prophesied would be brought to completion either in his lifetime or after his death."[3] The same well-informed chronicler lets us know that the conjecture hazarded above by the author of this Life as to the construction of the building, is fully justified. "He (St. Hugh) established some sort of gild in his bishopric from which as much as a thousand marks were contributed every year towards carrying on the work."

[1] *Norman Conquest*, vol. v. p. 641. Cf. Sharpe in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, 1868.

[2] Pp. 187—193.

[3] Coggeshall (Rolls Series), p. 111. The chronicler was a contemporary.

Whether this gild is identical with the great gild of St. Mary at Lincoln, the hall of which, though strangely known by the name of John of Gaunt's stables, is still standing, I am unable to state with certainty. This much is clear, that shortly after Hugh's death the contributions notably fell off, and that an effort was made to put new life into the gild we learn from an interesting document among the Patent Rolls, which King John addressed to the people of the diocese of Lincoln:[1]

"The King to all in the Diocese of Lincoln greeting. We give you manifold thanks for all the good deeds and alms which you have contributed to the Church of Lincoln for the construction of the new work. How bountifully and how liberally you have given is shown by the noble structure of that building. But how incongruous it would be that such a noble work should be left unfinished. And inasmuch as it needs your help and aid, we beg of all of you, we admonish and exhort you in the Lord, that, desirous to finish that which you have well begun, ye would, under the Divine guidance, and for the honour of the glorious Virgin, patroness of the same church, and also for the love of us and at our request, allow an assessment to be made among yourselves of a contribution for the work of the said building, and would form a society to last at least five years to further that purpose. So that on account of the contribution of aids and alms for building upon earth an abode for so excellent a patroness, which you have lovingly given, ye may be received by her Son our Lord into the everlasting abodes.[2]

[1] *Diocesan History of Lincoln.* By Venables and Perry. Pp. 120, 121.
[2] *Rotuli Lit. Pat.* p. 57. (1201—1216). Edit. Hardy.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *HIS EPISCOPAL MINISTRY.*

WHILE building his Cathedral, the Bishop of Lincoln did not forget the care of the spiritual edifice, of which the material fabric was but the type; he knew how to apply to his people the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians: "You are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow-citizens with the saints, and the domestics of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, being framed together, groweth up into an holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are built together into an habitation of God in the Spirit."[1]

To the Bishop, who is the representative of Jesus Christ, and the successor of the Apostles, especially belongs the part of architect to this living Church, which is formed of the souls of those committed to his care. He himself must cement the various elements of which it is composed, by his labours and his prayers, and if necessary, by his blood. Hugh well understood this great truth, and not a day passed in which he did not labour diligently for the sanctification of some portion of his flock.

The grand functions belonging to his office supplied the most frequent opportunity of benefiting the souls of others. These duties he discharged with such perfect dignity, such exactitude in every detail, such

[1] Ephes. ii. 19—22.

fervour and piety, that his people were completely fascinated, and to watch him at one of these ceremonies had the same effect upon them as an eloquent sermon. It is always interesting to see a Bishop pontificating; but when the Bishop is a Saint as well, the pontifical ceremonies gain a new meaning, and are invested with a new grandeur; so that they bring a sort of sacramental grace to the souls of those who assist at them. The people who flocked together when St. Hugh officiated enjoyed this privilege. They observed with admiration that "neither the noise and restlessness of the crowd, nor his many cares and anxieties, nor the occurrence of any unforeseen accident, could ever deprive their Bishop of his recollection, or hinder him from carrying out exactly every detail of the ceremony."[1]

They were astonished also to see how wonderfully he supported the fatigue of the longest functions, such as the consecration of churches, ordinations, and confirmations, although his constitution was delicate, and weakened by his many austerities. In spite of the violent internal pains, from which he often suffered, and which were mainly caused, his physicians said, by his frequent fasts on bread and water, he seemed stronger than those around him. While his assistants were frequently, not only tired, but utterly exhausted, and obliged to relieve each other in their attendance on the pontifical throne, the Bishop himself gave no sign of fatigue, and went through the longest and most trying ceremony without rest or relief. It often happened to him to get up before sunrise and to spend the whole day in these pontifical functions, not taking any meal until nightfall.

One day he had been consecrating a church in very bad weather. Twilight was coming on, and he was just thinking of the rest and refreshment he so much

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. i. ch. 2.

needed, when he saw a band of children approaching to receive confirmation. Immediately, hunger and fatigue were forgotten, the expostulations of his attendants were silenced by a few gentle words, and he began this fresh labour as if he had not another care in the world. All the children were confirmed, although there were so many of them, that night had fallen before the ceremony was over.[1]

He was as compassionate and careful of the health of his clergy, as he was severe to himself, and often insisted on their taking a little bread and wine, before accompanying him to the consecration of a church, or any other long ceremony, especially during the heat of summer. Several ecclesiastics, after profiting by this kind thoughtfulness, were scrupulous about touching the chalice or the altar linen, during the offering of the Holy Sacrifice. Hugh blamed them for their lack of faith and common sense, and he complained that they neither knew how to be obedient to their Bishop, nor were capable of understanding why he was right in giving the order.[2]

[1] *Vita Metrica*, 736—745.

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 13. In the Anglican Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln written by Canon G. G. Perry, the author is guilty of the absurdity of supposing that the Bishop gave a dispensation to his clergy to take their breakfasts *before saying Mass*. Father Bridgett, C.SS.R., in an article published in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1880, to which reference has previously been made, has exposed this blunder along with many other misconceptions to be found in Canon Perry's book. The *Magna Vita*, to which Canon Perry appeals, speaks of St. Hugh's dispensation given to those *qui ministrabant missarum solemnia celebranti*, *i.e.*, to the assistant priests, deacons and servers, who "ministered to the celebrant" during the long pontifical functions, and in fact one of the MSS. of the *Magna Vita*, as if to render ambiguity impossible, gives the reading *subministrare*. The only difficulty that can be felt about the passage would take the form of the question: "If only the assistants are meant, why was any dispensation necessary?" To this I answer that according to mediæval ideas not only the celebrant, but all who participated in any solemn function or in the administration of a sacrament ought to be fasting out of reverence for the rite they were engaged in. With regard to confirmation, *e.g.*,

But it was especially on his journeys through his diocese, to adminster the Sacrament of Confirmation, that his inexhaustible goodness and patience were manifested.

According to the custom of those days, it often happened that he was stopped on the road by a crowd of country people, who had come to ask him to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation on themselves or on their children. He would then immediately dismount from his horse, and perform all the appointed ceremonies with the greatest care and recollection, as if he had been in the sanctuary of his Cathedral. Even if he were ill, or fatigued, if the road was bad, the weather inclement, and the hour late, he never hesitated to get down from his horse and to observe with all due reverence the form prescribed in his Pontifical.[1] Then he would give his blessing to all around him, and after offering up a special prayer for the sick who had been brought there, filling their souls with joy and hope, he would resume his journey amid the blessings of all, to be stopped again ere long by just such another

the Council of Rouen (A.D. 1072. Labbe, ix. p. 1225) required that both administrant and recipient should be fasting. Indeed, it was the ordinary rule that all who assisted at the principal Mass on Sundays or week-days eat nothing beforehand. Any one who notes what has been said about the lateness of the hour at which St. Hugh himself took his meals, will see that he probably considered it necessary to defer his repast until all pontifical functions, notably the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation, had been concluded. This was regarded as the ordinary and more reverent practice, and in his own case St. Hugh was strict in adhering to it. At the same time he knew that this was only a counsel and not a matter of obligation, and he made no scruple about insisting that others should treat themselves more leniently. The Saint was not surprised that his deacons were reluctant to touch the chalice or corporal when not fasting, but he rebuked them for their want of obedience and their failure to see that such a rule might be dispensed with where there was good and sufficient reason.—[ED.]

[1] His contemporaries particularly remark on this circumstance, because many other Bishops at that time were less considerate. (*Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 13.)

group of petitioners who had come on a similar errand. "A great number of cures," says his biographer, "were the fruit of the Bishop's prayers and blessing. This we have learned from eye-witnesses, whose veracity is beyond a doubt."[1]

One day, St. Hugh had just confirmed a number of people, and was hastening to another church, where a fresh throng of the faithful were awaiting him. An old peasant who, however, was not entirely helpless, called after him that he wished to be confirmed. The Bishop, seeing that the church was only a very short distance from where they were standing, told the old man to come to the church and be confirmed with the rest, not to keep the other candidates waiting. But the old man did not at all see the matter in this light. He replied that he would not and could not walk that short distance, and when the Saint demurred, he sat down upon the ground, lifted his arms and his eyes to Heaven, and dared to call upon God to witness the wrong which His Bishop was doing to his soul. St. Hugh was not offended at this rudeness, but thought only of the spiritual needs of the old man, who ought to have been confirmed long years before. He yielded to his persistence, stopped, turned back, and bestowed the favour so strangely asked.[2]

This little incident will serve to show how vexatiously the zeal of this good pastor was sometimes tried, and how much there was of merit in his efforts to evangelize his flock. In some parts of his diocese, he even found traces of idolatry among the ignorant country people. They worshipped the fountains in certain spots,[3] and indulged in other superstitious

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 13.

[2] *Vita Metrica*, v. 746—765; Girald, *Vita S. Hugonis*, i. ch. 3.

[3] Especially at Berkhampstead and Wycombe. (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 17.)

practices. The holy Bishop made the most strenuous efforts to put an end to such deplorable customs, but it was long before he succeeded. We will give one episode out of many which occurred to the Saint, during this wearisome struggle. One day, as he was passing through a village, a peasant took up a little child in his arms, and ran after the Bishop. Thinking that it was the usual case of administering confirmation, St. Hugh stopped, dismounted, opened his box of holy oils, put on his stole, and waited. No: the child had been already confirmed; but the father wished to have his baptismal name changed, because he thought, that if this were done, his son's destiny would also be changed. At this unmistakable piece of paganism the Bishop grew very indignant. "What is the name of your child?" he said. "John," answered the father. "O gross folly!" exclaimed the holy man; "what more beautiful name could you wish for your son? John, in Hebrew, signifies the Grace of God. What do you wish him to be called? Fork, I suppose, or rake? . . . You see what a dreadful state of mind your request has thrown me into. I shall not let it pass without giving you cause to remember it." And a severe penance imposed upon the superstitious father was the outcome of this episcopal admonition.[1]

This severity could not be attributed to a want of sympathy with the common people; for Hugh was never weary of showing his love and consideration for them. He sent messengers to seek out the poor, in order that he might be able to relieve their wants. He regularly distributed among them a third of his revenues; not to speak of numberless gifts out of the ordinary course and secret alms that were never heard of. In his relations with the tenants of the Cathedral lands,

[1] *Vita Metrica*, v. 765—793.

he showed himself full of generosity, fearlessly renouncing certain unjust dues which he found in existence, and which weighed too heavily on his subjects.

A labourer on one of his estates had just died, and according to custom, his principal chattel, in this case an ox, became the property of the lord of the manor. But the poor widow trusted to the goodness of her Bishop: she came to him, weeping, and begged him to allow her to keep the animal, which was of the utmost importance to her to enable her to gain a livelihood for herself and her children. Hugh instantly granted her request, without thinking of the precedent he was establishing. His bailiff, who happened to be riding beside him, said to his master: "My lord, if you thus renounce all your rights, you will ruin yourself, and you will no longer be able to retain your land." Thereupon, the Bishop got down from his horse, and taking up a handful of earth, said to his companion, "Here, you see, is plenty of land; I can keep all this, and yet leave the poor widow her ox. What is the use of possessing so much of earth, and losing Heaven? If we rigorously exact the payment of the unjust debts owing to us, we run the risk of ourselves becoming bankrupts to God. Death has taken from this poor widow her chief support, but he has not left her quite without resources. Shall I be more cruel than death? No! I will not take away what death has spared her." The poor widow was overcome with gratitude for this kindness, which was that of a father rather than a feudal lord.[1]

On another occasion, a knight, by the simple fact of his death, had rendered his son liable for the payment of a certain Relief. The Bishop exempted him from the obligation, saying, "It was not just that the loss of a father should entail the loss of such a sum of

[1] *Vita Metrica*, v. 793—813.

money also—one such trouble at a time was surely quite enough."[1]

Concessions like these were of more value even than alms in teaching the people of Lincoln to look upon the Bishop as their protector and friend. The truth of the old adage was confirmed: "It is good to live under the crozier."

St. Hugh was a worthy representative of his Divine Master, who said: "I am the Good Shepherd; and I know Mine, and Mine know Me." As the years went on, the lapse of time did but increase the perfect confidence and sympathy which subsisted between the Bishop and his flock; and as his influence grew greater, he made use of it only to distribute to all in larger measure the treasures of grace, which filled his holy soul. He never gave a thought to self, but poured out his energies without stint or stay, amply rewarded by the conversions which he effected and by the change which in due time crept over the face of his diocese.

[1] *Vita Metrica*, v. 814—822.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *THE FRIEND OF LITTLE CHILDREN AND LEPERS.*

The tender heart of St. Hugh was open to all, but there were some whom he loved with a special love, and these were little children, and poor lepers. The children represented to him his God in the manger at Bethlehem; the lepers, his God on the Cross of Calvary.

"The Guardian Angels of little children," a Bishop of our own days has written, "have this great privilege, that their external duties, instead of being a distraction from their one essential occupation of beholding the face of God, in some sense double the happiness they derive from the beatific vision; for, while they contemplate God Himself in the brightness of eternal light, they see His image reflected in the pure souls of the little ones committed to their care. The Angel Guardians of older persons, on the other hand, are, alas! too often condemned to witness injustice, sin of every kind, corruption of mind and heart, perversion of the will, and manifold impurity in thought and action—a sad spectacle for those blessed spirits, whose only consolation then is to turn their eyes to the immaculate splendour of eternal beauty. But the Angels of little children, wherever their gaze is directed, are confronted by the same presence of the Eternal Father in all alike. In our Lord's words, 'their Angels always see the face of My Father who is in Heaven.'"[1]

[1] St. Matt. xviii. 10. *Works of Cardinal Pie*, vol. i. p. 516.

As he was the guardian angel of all the souls in his diocese, St. Hugh took a special delight in watching over the souls of the little ones, dear to God beyond the rest. The little children, in their baptismal innocence, with their engaging candour, and their sweet, pure looks, consoled him for the inevitable miseries which he had every day to come in contact with, and to cure. His intercourse with them, instead of being a distraction from the holy contemplation which was to him a foretaste of the Beatific Vision, refreshed his mind and heart, and helped him to raise his thoughts towards those invisible heights which he never willingly lost sight of.

One of his greatest pleasures was to confirm little children. He would never allow his attendants to treat them roughly, and those who paid no attention to his wishes in this matter were severely reprimanded.[1] Whenever he met any of these little ones, he felt irresistibly drawn to speak to them; he loved to take them in his arms, and had a most charming knack of winning a smile and some half-formed words from the baby-lips which had scarcely learned to speak. He traced the sign of the Cross upon their foreheads, he prayed God to bestow on them all good gifts, and sent them lovingly away with his blessing.

The little children were not slow in responding to the advances of their saintly friend. They felt at home with him at once, and loved to get him to play with them. Even children who were naturally shy and timid, and always fled from the presence of strangers, came readily to the Bishop, and would rather be with him than with their own parents. His chaplain was a

[1] St. Hugh was not content with mere rebuke. His chaplain tells us of his lay attendants, presumably the younger ones, that if they ill-treated the children, the Bishop sometimes cuffed them soundly—*terribiliter increpando nonnunquam etiam colaphizando severius coercebat.*—[ED.]

witness of one of these charming scenes, and has described it for us. He says: "I once saw myself a little infant of six months old, whom the Bishop had just confirmed,[1] manifest such joy in his presence, that he might have been taken for another St. John the Baptist, leaping with gladness. He laughed with such real enjoyment and evident intention, that all were astonished to hear such sounds from the little mouth, which had hitherto only uttered the wailing cries of babyhood. He stretched out his little arms, as though he would fly away to Heaven altogether, and turned his head from side to side, as if his joy were too great for expression. The Saint's hands he clasped, and held tightly within his own, putting them to his lips, and unwilling to let them go. The Bishop charmed the child, and the child charmed the Bishop, to the great admiration of all present, who saw in both one and the other the realization of the Gospel promise: 'Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.'[2] And, indeed, what else was it but God Himself that the innocent little one perceived in the person of His representative? And what was it, in turn, which so powerfully attracted the Bishop to the child, if it were not the image of his God reflected in the mirror of its pure, untainted soul? Those who witnessed this scene could never forget it, so much impressed were they with its quite unusual character. The Bishop presented fruits and dainties[3]

[1] It was a common practice in the early Church, and in the middle ages, to administer Confirmation to infants and quite young children. The question was even debated whether it was lawful to give Holy Communion to any one who had not been confirmed.—[ED.]

[2] St. Matt. v. 8.

[3] If *poma*, the word used in the *Magna Vita*, means apples, it does not seem altogether surprising that an infant six months old should have felt no particular attraction for this form of nourishment. It may be, however, that St. Hugh offered them merely as playthings, and not as delicacies.—[ED.]

to the child, who turned away his head, as if disgusted. It was the friend, and not the gifts, that he loved; Hugh himself was quite sufficient for him. The nurse who carried him in her arms then tried to caress him, but he pushed her away, and fixed his eyes on the Bishop, drumming with his hands, and crowing with delight. They were obliged at last to carry the baby away, and so put an end to this ovation, which occurred at Newark Castle, a place then under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Lincoln, although it really belonged to the diocese of York. The child was the son of quite poor people, residing in a neighbouring town on the other side of the River Trent." [1]

St. Hugh was so charmed with this incident, that he turned to his attendants, and with characteristic simplicity, began to tell them of a similar experience of his on another occasion. "When I was Prior of Witham," he said, "I went to the Grande Chartreuse, to be present at the General Chapter of the Order;[2] and as the castle of Avalon, which belonged to my brother William, was on my way, I stopped to pay him a visit. There my youngest nephew was brought down to see me—quite a baby, who was not yet able to talk. The same thing happened then, as has happened just now. The nurse laid the infant down on my bed, and left me alone with him. Then the dear little creature seemed to beam all over and went into transports of delight, which you would have thought impossible in one so young." [3]

The Bishop of Lincoln was not satisfied with these passing interviews; he chose several little children,

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 14.

[2] It seems probable that the Priors of Carthusian houses at a distance only attended the General Chapters in leap years. This would enable us to assign the incident recorded above either to 1180 or 1184, probably the atter.

[3] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 14.

whom he brought up in his palace, and afterwards educated. He took care, however, not to treat them with so much familiarity, when they had attained the age of reason, and might have been spoilt by an excessive display of affection. Nearly all these privileged children embraced the ecclesiastical state, and were provided with benefices by their protector. Two of their number were especially remarkable for their precocious intelligence: one was a little Norman, born at Caen, and called Benedict; the other was a French child, born at Noyon, who was christened Robert.

Robert was about five or six years old, when he was met at Senlis by Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom we shall have much to say later on. The Archbishop was delighted with the charming prattle of the bright little fellow, and thought it would give great pleasure to St. Hugh, if he sent him to join his other *protégés*. He obtained possession of the child for a very small sum,[1] and brought him home to Lambeth. The Bishop of Lincoln soon after arrived, to pay his respects to his Metropolitan, and as soon as the little boy saw him, he left the Archbishop, and ran joyfully into the arms of him whom he henceforward regarded as a father. St. Hugh, after keeping the child with him for some time, sent him to be educated at Elstow.

As to the little Benedict, he had the happiness of being found, some time before Robert, at Caen, probably by St. Hugh himself, who kept him a long time in his palace, until he was old enough to begin his studies, and who afterwards provided for his maintenance. While he was quite young, he was riding on the same horse with Roger, Archdeacon of Leicester, and afterwards Dean of the Chapter at Lincoln. Suddenly, the child fell off the horse, into a deep and rapid river, which

[1] "(Puer) ære comparatus exiguo in Angliam cum ipso perlatus a Galiis est." (*Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 14.)

carried him a great distance. Through the intercession of St. Hugh, he was taken out alive and unhurt, just as the little Placidus was saved in days of old by the prayers of St. Benedict.[1]

There were other miracles besides this, which bore witness to the Divine intervention in favour of the friend of little children. A native of Alconbury, near Huntingdon, was imprudent enough to leave a fragment of a broken knife blade in the hands of his little son. The child put it into his mouth, where it entered his throat, and remained there, so that no food could be swallowed, except in a liquid form. Half suffocated, and in great pain, the poor boy seemed to be at death's door, when the holy Bishop of Lincoln happened to pass through the place. The unhappy father, who blamed himself for all this anguish, came with his weeping wife, to seek advice from the man of God. For, according to the testimony of the mother, a prophetic dream had announced to the uncle of the child, that the poor little sufferer would be cured by the Saint. "The Lord has sent you here," she added, "on purpose that you may restore life to our son, who is in a dying state." Touched by the faith and sorrow of these good people, Hugh blessed the throat of the child, touched it, and breathed upon it. In a few moments, the fragment of steel came away covered with blood, and the poor boy's life was saved.[2]

In the city of Lincoln, another mother obtained the cure of her two sons, by appealing to the Bishop. One of the children had a large tumour in the side, which threatened to be fatal. The man of God touched the wound, the tumour disappeared, and the child's health

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 14.

[2] *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 80; *Vita Metrica*, v. 1064—1079. The same miracle is mentioned in the Report of the Papal commissioners for the canonization of St. Hugh.

was perfectly restored. His brother being afterwards seized with a dangerous illness, the mother brought him, like the other, to get the Saint's blessing. Three days after, this child also was completely cured.[1]

After learning these facts, we are not astonished to hear of the general veneration shown to St. Hugh, even during his lifetime, as the special patron and protector of little children.

But, we may ask, how could one who had so tender a love for innocent and beautiful childhood, give the first place in his heart to the very outcasts of humanity, the degraded and repulsive lepers? On one side, the freshest and sweetest flowers that earth produces; on the other, the most hideous of God's creatures, which society, in horror, has banished from its midst! It is Christian charity alone which possesses the gift of reconciling these two extremes, and of seeing in each an image of the Divine Saviour, who was as lovely and attractive, as He hung upon His Cross of pain, as when in His infancy He lay cradled in His Mother's arms.

This was the secret of St. Hugh's love for the despised lepers. It was the thought of Him Who in His Passion became "as it were a leper, and as one struck by God and afflicted." The Saint's greatest happiness was to bring thirteen of these poor creatures into his own chamber, unknown to all his servants and attendants. Then he would wash and wipe their feet, kissing them with tender devotion. He set before them a generous repast, and dismissed them with abundant alms. There were several leper hospitals in his diocese; and without taking into account the large revenues bestowed on these charitable institutions by his predecessors, St. Hugh supported them by every means

[1] *Magna Vita*, ubi supra; *Annal. Cartus.* loc. cit.

in his power.[1] Often, accompanied by some of his devout clergy, he would visit these asylums of misery. Then, he would sit down in the midst of his dear lepers, cheer them by his kind words, console them with a gentleness that was almost maternal, and speak to those disinherited ones of this world, of the eternal reward which would recompense them for all their sufferings. To these consolations he added much good advice, and if necessary, reprimanded those who needed reproof.

Before the exhortations which he addressed to all the lepers in common, the Bishop sent away the women for a few moments, and then embraced each poor man in turn, bowing to them first, and treating those most affectionately who were the most disfigured by the cruel disease. A little address full of delicate sympathy followed these marks of affection. "I congratulate you," he would say to them. "You are the flowers of Paradise; you are precious jewels in the crown of the King of Heaven. Have confidence; wait in peace for your Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform this 'body of your ignominy,' and make it like His own glorious Body, while those who, refusing to take part in His humiliations, have despised you, and been proud of their beauty, will be severely judged."

When the man of God again found himself alone with his intimate friends, he poured out his whole soul to them, and spoke as one on fire, of the infinite goodness of Jesus Christ, who, so many times in the Gospel, has declared how blessed is the state of poverty and suffering. He recalled to their remembrance how

[1] This tender solicitude for poor lepers seems to have been traditional in the Carthusian Order. To take but one instance, the leper-house of Entresaix, in Savoy, was founded by Guigo, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and it was tenderly loved by St. Anthelmus, General of the Carthusians, and afterwards Bishop of Belley, who, as he had learned from the example of Guigo, tended them with his own hands. (Cf. J. Létanche, *Mémoires de la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire*, vol. xxx. p. 152.)—[ED.]

poor Lazarus was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom, and how He, who was Himself the source of all health and beauty, became infirm and afflicted in order to heal our infirmities.[1]

One day, his chancellor, William, wishing to try his humility, and also to furnish him with an opportunity of declaring with what ardent faith he served Jesus Christ Himself in the person of the lepers, said to him: "My Lord, when St. Martin kissed the lepers, he healed them by his touch." The Bishop replied immediately: "Yes; the kisses of St. Martin healed the bodies of the lepers: but with me it is the other way, the kisses of the lepers heal my sick soul." Could any reply have been more touching in its simple humility? Could anything express more clearly his sense of the presence of his Divine Master in the suffering members of His mystical Body? If the soul of St. Hugh had in reality no need of being cured by contact with the lepers, it was there that it gained new strength and beauty, and it discerned more clearly in these revolting specimens of humanity the heavenly loveliness of a crucified God.

## Note to Book II. Chapter VIII.

On the south side of Lincoln, just beyond the old Bargate, is a piece of ground long known as the Malandry Fields (from *maladrerie*, a leper-house). Upon this site formerly stood a hospital for lepers, dedicated to the Holy Innocents. From sundry entries amongst the Patent Rolls, it appears that it was considered to have been founded by former kings of England, though St. Remigius, the first Bishop of Lincoln, is alleged to have originated the work; in any case at the end of the thirteenth century, the King kept the house under his own immediate control. Some early charters are

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 3.

printed in Dugdale, and we learn from them that Henry I. was a generous benefactor to this institution, and that Henry II. confirmed his grants and added to them a carucate of land in Norcote. When we remember St. Hugh's devotion to the poor lepers and his love of little children, it is impossible to doubt that this particular hospital of the Holy Innocents,[1] which was at no very great distance from the Cathedral, must have been especially dear to him. It is at least a curious coincidence that the author of the *Magna Vita*, in turning to the subject of St. Hugh's care for the lepers, should introduce it without any apparent reason by a reference to the praise which God had accorded to him *per ora innocentium*, through the mouths of innocents. We may safely conclude that this was one of the "hospitals on certain of the Bishop's manors," of which his biographer speaks, and the revenues of which he supplemented from his own purse. This hospital of the Holy Innocents was endowed for the reception and maintenance of ten leprous brethren with a warden, and with two chaplains to say Mass for King Henry I. and his family. The lepers were to be *ex ejectis*[2] of the city of Lincoln. Amongst the

[1] It was opposite to the Gilbertine Priory of St. Catherine's, mentioned above on p. 139, immediately outside the south gate of the city. The Bishop's palace, the great hall of which was begun by St. Hugh, was close to the Cathedral. After being allowed to fall into a ruinous state, in which it remained for two hundred years, a new building has recently been erected on the old site, and the present Bishop of Lincoln has taken up his abode there.

[2] Lepers in the middle ages were treated very much in the same fashion as lepers amongst the Jews under the Mosaic dispensation. They were thrust out from the society of their fellows, and in many parts of Europe a special ritual was provided, corresponding in its main features to the ritual for the burial of the dead, which was read over them in church when they had been pronounced to be infected by the terrible disease. Although leprosy was common enough in Western Europe before the crusades (Cf. G. Kurth, *La Lèpre en Occident avant les Croisades*), there can be little doubt that this awful scourge was considerably increased and pro-

Harleian charters in the British Museum, is one belonging to the time of St. Hugh and witnessed by William de Monte, his chancellor. It is an agreement between the hospital and the Prior and convent of Bulington, determining the payment of certain small sums.[1] To this is attached a very fair impression of the seal of the hospital, on which is depicted a leper holding out his right hand for alms, and apparently supported on crutches. Only a very few years later King John issued letters patent dated April 24th, 1205, taking the *domum leprosorum* at Lincoln under his special protection, and enjoining that "when the brethren or the clergy preached in their behalf and solicited the alms of the faithful for their needs, no one should harass, hinder, or molest such preachers."[2] In the next century the hospital of the Holy Innocents would seem to have fallen upon evil days, and its revenues, I fear, were misappropriated. In the end it was placed under the direction of the Knights Hospitallers of Bruton Lepers.[3]—[Ed.]

pagated by intercourse with the East. Attention was directed to the spread of leprosy at the third Council of Lateran (1179) where one of the most prominent English representatives was Reginald of Bath, the same Bishop who brought St. Hugh to England, probably on his way back from the Council. The 23rd of the decrees (Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. xxii. p. 230), passed by the Fathers, requires that lepers are to have a church, cemetery, and chaplain of their own, while another document in the Appendix to the same, speaks of the general custom of separating those infected with leprosy from intercourse with their fellow-men and transporting them to solitary places. (*Ibid.* p. 394.) On the other hand the Christian charity of the middle ages seems to have responded nobly to the call made upon it. We know from the will of Louis VIII. in 1225, that there were at least two thousand leper hospitals in France, and in England there were five such houses in Norwich alone. At Lincoln we know of another Lazar House, called St. Leonard's, to the north-west of the city, and possibly of a third in the hospital dedicated to St. Giles.

[1] *Cart. Harl.* 44, A. 29.

[2] *Rotuli Litterar. Patent.* Edit. Hardy (1201—1216), p. 54.

[3] Cf. an article on this subject in the *Papers of the Lincolnshire Topographical Society*, pp. 29—49.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *HIS CHARITY FOR THE DEAD.*

When God commands us to respect the rights of our neighbour, He makes no distinction between the living and the dead; He intends that we shall execute the last wishes of those whom we have lost, and say nothing against their reputation, exactly as if they were still living in the midst of us. The precept of fraternal charity extends, therefore, to the dead, and the Church most carefully expresses this in her Offices, and especially in those which have to do with the rites of Christian burial. It was in these ceremonies especially that the holy Bishop found the opportunity to show his charity towards the souls of the departed. He loved to expatiate upon the deep significance of the funeral rites appointed by the Church, and to defend his practice of always assisting at them whenever it was possible. On this subject he used to say: "Among the numberless proofs which God has given of His love for man, we ought specially to notice what He does for each one of us before our birth and after our death. Before a man comes into the world, God the Son has died for him, God the Father has freely surrendered His Son to death, and God the Holy Ghost has come down to fill him with manifold graces. There are sacraments already instituted for the purification, the strengthening, and the nourishment of his soul. There is the Church to guide and instruct him. Not one thing is wanting for

his salvation and sanctification. When the hour of his death arrives, when his dearest friends fly from his remains, when his parents and his children hasten to bear him away from his former home, it is then that God in His fatherly tenderness comes to his relief and lavishes upon him marks of loving forethought. He sends His angels to receive the soul which is returning to its Creator; and to His priests, His representatives on earth, He commits the care of the lifeless body, that it may receive Christian burial."

The holy Bishop, if we may trust the author of the *Magna Vita*, used further to encourage his clergy in this matter, by bidding them imagine that Almighty God was exhorting them in some such words as these:

"See, O My priests, you who stand in the sanctuary in My place to entertain My guests, see this creature who is the work of My hands. I have always loved him, for his sake I have not hesitated to sacrifice My only Son, who has made him partaker in His merits and in His death. And now this man has become as a grievous burthen to his friends and kinsfolk. They have cast him off and driven him from their midst. Come then, bestir yourselves to welcome the poor outcast who has no other refuge but with Me. Take with you to meet him the image of My Son, who was crucified to save him; do not forget the candles and the sweet-scented incense; have the church bells solemnly tolled, open wide the doors, conduct him with honour into the interior of My house: not far from the altar where lies enshrined the Body of My Son,[1] there place your dead brother's mortal remains; in view of his triumph cover the bier on which he lies

[1] *Nec longius ab ara Filii mei corpus continente deponite.* It is not quite clear whether the reference is to the Blessed Sacrament reserved above the altar, or to that which was sometimes buried in the altar in lieu of relics.—[ED.]

with a precious pall, surround him with lamps and torches, and let a numerous assembly throng around him. By the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist, make ready a delicious banquet for the soul still panting after its conflict with the powers of evil, in order that the spirit may find rest and refreshment, and in order that the empty tenement of clay may go back amid benedictions to the bosom of its mother earth. So at the last day shall it be worthily mated again to the glorious spirit that gave it life, and be renewed with the spring-tide of eternal youth."

From this exalted standpoint we can understand something of the attraction which the Bishop of Lincoln found in the funeral ceremonies, which are so often performed mechanically, and without devotion. He never declined the honour of officiating, or assisting at them; on the contrary, he persistently sought out every opportunity of attending a funeral service, often at the cost of his night's rest, and sometimes at the risk of failing in other duties of courtesy, which most people would have considered imperative.

The priests of his diocese had received strict orders from him, never to inter any one, especially an adult person, without acquainting him of it, if he happened to be anywhere in the neighbourhood. He preferred to conduct the service himself, and never dispensed himself from this unless hindered by some grave impediment. He used to say, that if a person had led a good life, he deserved this mark of charity and respect; and that if his life had not been good, he had all the more need of prayers. Therefore, he put himself at the disposition of all, and when the funeral was that of a very poor person, he instructed his almoner to furnish the lights, and to defray the other expenses of burial. When he was on a journey, if he met a funeral procession, he instantly dismounted,

knelt down beside the coffin, and began to pray. If he had not a book written in large characters, such as his defective sight required towards the end of his life, he would stand beside the priest, reciting the Psalms with him, and making the responses like a simple clerk. If he had a suitable book at hand, he took upon himself the duties of celebrant, entoned the prayers, sprinkled holy water, incensed the coffin, cast earth upon it, and in fact performed every detail of the rite then in use with the greatest attention. It was only when the whole service was concluded that he gave his blessing to the bystanders, and proceeded on his journey.

When he was making his visitation in any of the larger towns, it often happened at the conclusion of one funeral that messengers came to inform him of several others which were to take place the same day. He was rarely satisfied unless he went to the different churches mentioned, and rendered to each dead person the same charitable office. He passed in fact from one to the other until he had exhausted the list of these solemn invitations, cheerfully neglecting invitations of another kind. In vain did the noble lords and gentlemen who had asked him to their table, or whom he had invited as his own guests, in vain did they complain of the Bishop's endless delay. Nothing could equal the importance of this sacred duty in his eyes, and no one ever took more to heart that maxim of Holy Scripture: "It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting."[1]

One day, Henry II. was expecting him to dinner. But before presenting himself at the Palace, Hugh had a mind to officiate at all the funerals which were going on, not considering that the King was hungry, and was being kept waiting with all his Court. Some of the royal servants came to remind the Bishop that the

[1] Eccles. vii. 3.

King was getting impatient, and that it was long past the dinner-hour. Without showing the least concern, St. Hugh quietly went on with the service, merely replying: "It is not necessary for the King to wait for me; for heaven's sake, let him sit down at once and take his dinner in the name of the Lord." And he afterwards explained his conduct to his clergy and attendants by saying: "It is better to let an earthly king dine without us, than to pay no heed to the invitation of the King of kings."

Some years afterwards, he behaved in exactly the same way to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in the city of Rouen.[1] And here we may take the liberty of anticipating a little the chronological order of events, in order to group together several incidents which have to do with the subject now under discussion.

During one of his last journeys to Normandy, the Saint was walking in the vicinity of the town of Argentau, when he observed, near the wayside, that the soil had been disturbed, so that it had the appearance of a newly-made grave. Surprised and distressed, he sought information from some labourers who were at work near the place. They told him that it was indeed the grave of a poor beggar, who had died in a neighbouring cabin, and who had been so utterly destitute, that he had been put into the ground just where he lay, instead of being taken to the churchyard. St. Hugh, deeply concerned, drew a long sigh; then, taking out his book, he began to recite the burial service for this poor man, with intense devotion. Thus did he endeavour to repair the culpable negligence of the priest of the parish, not forgetting afterwards to denounce the careless pastor to his own Bishop, and demand his punishment.

[1] From the account of Giraldus Cambrensis (i. ch. 6), it would appear that the former episode took place at Le Mans.

The city of Lincoln was of course the privileged theatre of many of these acts of charity towards the dead. One evening in Lent, Hugh arrived at his palace after the hour of None. It was time to break his fast, and his dinner was waiting for him, when some one came with the news that two funerals were about to take place. Without a moment's hesitation, the Bishop went off to officiate at both in succession, taking no refreshment for his body, until he had thus satisfied the hunger of his soul. Another time, in the same city, on the morning after Christmas day, St. Hugh had just finished celebrating Mass in honour of St. Stephen, when he saw coming towards him one of the workmen employed in building the Cathedral. With the confidence which the holy Bishop's kindness always inspired, the mason told him that his brother had died the night before, and begged for the dead man the "pontifical absolution," and some special prayers. This request was immediately granted, and then the Bishop asked if the funeral had already taken place. The mason replied that the body was lying still unburied, in a church a long distance off. The Bishop ordered horses to be saddled immediately, and set out with his chaplain and two servants. Arriving at the place indicated, he performed all the ceremonies with his usual devotion. But his task was not over; he received notice of several other funerals, no less than *five*, according to the account of his biographer, and he was determined to be present at all of them. He had, nevertheless, been invited to dine on that day with the archdeacon of Bedford, to meet a large number of clergy. The hour of dinner was already past. Some one ventured to suggest to him that he ought not to keep the guests waiting any longer. The relatives themselves of the dead man, who was still to be buried, joined their entreaties to those of his

servants; they begged him to be contented with giving the pontifical absolution, and commending the soul of their dear one to God in his prayers. But St. Hugh imposed silence on all, by saying: "Have you then forgotten the words of our Lord: My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me?"[1] Without another word, he imitated once more the admirable Tobias, and left his meal in order to care for the dead, to the great edification and consolation of the family whose grief he shared.

On three separate occasions, this wonderful charity of St. Hugh received a visible reward from Heaven. Once, when he had come to London, to take part in a meeting of prelates and nobles, it happened that one of the Abbots who had been summoned thither died suddenly on the eve of the opening of the Conference.[2] Hugh only knew this Abbot very slightly, but he was none the less moved by his sudden death, devoutly recommended his soul to God, and of course asked when and where the funeral was to take place. He learned that it was to be on the next day, at the Church of St. Saviour in Bermondsey, but that none of the prelates were expected to be present, not even those who were most intimate with the deceased. No one, in fact, wished or dared to be absent from the solemn opening of the assembly. "Now, God forbid!" exclaimed our Saint, "that this Abbot should be thus abandoned by all the prelates assembled in this great city! We will not treat one of our brothers in this way, for no one would wish to be thus treated himself." He therefore charged some of his people to make his

[1] St. John iv. 34.

[2] Mr. Dimock is probably right in identifying this prelate with Simon, Abbot of Pershore, who died at Bermondsey on the 12th of May, 1198. We have no record, however, of any meeting of nobles and prelates at that date.—[Ed.]

excuses to the assembly, and set off for Bermondsey. An unexpected incident rendered his devotion more memorable. On account of the extreme heat of the summer, and the nature of the malady of which the Abbot had died, the corpse was in such an advanced state of decomposition, as to be almost unendurable to those around the coffin. It was only by the use of perfumes and other expedients that they could bring themselves to remain in the vicinity. The holy Bishop alone, whose sense of smell, nevertheless, was exceptionally acute, gave no sign of suffering any inconvenience. Without taking precautions of any sort, he came and went about the infected spot as the order of the ceremonies required, "just," says his biographer, "as a mother walks round and round the cradle of her sleeping child." When he returned home, some of his friends, fearing lest he might have taken some harm from the tainted atmosphere, asked him if he felt quite well. He was astonished at their questions; he had observed nothing in the least disagreeable, and thought that they must have been mistaken. His soul had been so raised above earthly things, that all impressions of sense had been lost in those of devotion.[1]

Another extraordinary favour bore witness to his sanctity, on the occasion of the death of his almoner, who belonged to the Order of the Knights Templars, and was called Brother Morinus. He had been a worthy imitator of the virtues of his master, and was distinguished for his great charity and prudence in distributing the alms confided to him. Besides providing everything that was necessary for the interment of the poor, it was part of his duty to give the Bishop notice of any funerals which were about to take place. If he neglected to do so he had to do penance for his fault, by fasting on bread and water.

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 2.

This Brother Morinus had fallen ill when the Bishop was at his manor of Stowe. Hugh administered the last sacraments to him with his own hands, and then was obliged to take his departure for Sleaford, a place about twenty miles off.

Some days afterwards, when still at Sleaford, the man of God had a dream, in which he seemed to be in the cell of his dying friend, and observed a white dove, which flew from one side to the other, seeking a place of egress. When he awoke, he immediately gave orders that horses should be prepared, to go and meet the coffin of Brother Morinus, which he knew would be taken from Stowe to Bruer, where there was a house of the Order of Knights Templars. Then he began, with his clergy, to recite the office of Prime, when suddenly a messenger arrived, with the news of the death of the almoner, which had occurred in the middle of the night. Hugh then related the vision, which had already made known to him what had occurred. The funeral took place that day in the place he had foreseen, and St. Hugh was in time to be present at it.[1]

A third incident may be added to the two preceding. In the neighbourhood of Buckingham, a man who had recently died, began to appear in a terrible form, for several consecutive nights, first to his wife, then to his brothers, and afterwards to his friends and neighbours. Those whom he thus tormented, in their terror applied to one of the archdeacons of St. Hugh, named Stephen, who was then at Buckingham, and was the principal ecclesiastical official of the district. The archdeacon wrote at once to his Bishop, then in London, asking what was to be done. St. Hugh took advice, and was told by those whom he consulted, that this kind of apparition was not uncommon in England, and that the only way to put a stop to it, was to take up the body of

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 18; *Vita Metrica*, v. 900.

the dead man and burn it. St. Hugh thought this proceeding very wrong, and contrary to the respect which ought always be shown to the mortal remains of a Christian. He gave other instructions to his archdeacon, who, in accordance with his directions, had the grave opened, and finding that the body remained in the state in which it had been when buried, laid upon its breast a form of absolution which the man of God had written with his own hand. He then closed the tomb again, and from that hour, the apparitions ceased.[1] A few lines written by the Bishop of Lincoln, had given rest to the troubled spirit, and peace to his family.

All these facts are attested by contemporary witnesses; and later on, we shall have to add others which shed glory on the funeral obsequies of the holy Bishop, and upon his tomb. After his death, even more than during his lifetime, it pleased God to reward by singular marks of favour the charity of His servant towards the faithful departed.

[1] This story, which is not found in the *Magna Vita*, is narrated by William of Newburgh (vol. ii. p. 425), in connection with a number of other portents which marked the year of calamity, 1196. The remedy of exhuming the body and burning it would seem to have been a superstition then widely prevalent in England, for in each of the three other similar ghost stories which he relates, the ghost is laid by reducing the body to ashes. The point of the chronicler's telling us that the corpse was found in the same state as when committed to the earth, seems to be this: it was supposed that until the censures of the Church were removed, the body could not be reduced to dust, and until the corpse was resolved into its elements, the devil might enter into it and use it for his evil ends. It was to effect this resolution that fire was employed. The details of the story related above were communicated to William of Newburgh by Archdeacon Stephen himself. But see further the note at the end of the chapter.—[ED.]

## Note to Book II. Chapter IX.

The form of this "absolution" will probably have been analogous to that which was written by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, and suspended over the grave of the famous Abelard, at the request of Heloise, to whose care Abelard's remains had been committed. The document, which was duly sealed, ran in these terms: "Ego Petrus Cluniacensis qui Petrum Abailardum in monachum Cluniacensem suscepi, et corpus ejus furtim delatum, Heloisæ abbatissæ et monialibus Paracleti concessi, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei et omnium sanctorum absolvo eum pro officio ab omnibus peccatis suis."[1] In this case it is quite plain that there can have been no thought of supplying the place of sacramental absolution. Abelard had spent a long period in rigorous penance, he had received the Holy Viaticum and had died in the arms of his brethren. The absolution thus written and sealed was merely a sort of formal discharge from obligations or censures in *foro externo*, the removal of which might have its effect in remitting temporal punishment incurred during life, and so opening the way for the deceased to the enjoyment of the vision of God. As an illustration of this point of view, I may refer to a curious story related by the monastic chroniclers of the Welsh King, Rhys, who had laid violent hands upon one of St. Hugh's colleagues on the episcopal bench, Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. David's. Peter having providentially escaped from the clutches of his captor, summoned his clergy and solemnly excommunicated Rhys and the princes, his sons. Shortly afterwards, in 1197, the King died, and his sons, after a few days, determined to address themselves to the Bishop for absolution and reconciliation. Peter

[1] Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, vol. ii. p. 375.

de Leia, with the assent and authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, granted their petition, but only on this condition, that, like Henry II. at the tomb of St. Thomas and like the Grand Forester mentioned on a previous page, they should submit to a public flagellation. The corpse of the dead King, *jam foetidum*, says the chronicler, likewise received a scourging, presumably a mere formal one, and then absolution was pronounced over living and dead together.[1]

The same belief in the power of the Church's censures to reach even beyond the tomb is manifested in a still more curious story told of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, in the chronicle which goes by the name of John Brompton. At Compton, in Oxfordshire, he is said, while celebrating Mass, to have bidden all excommunicated persons leave the church, whereupon there rose from the floor the corpse of a man that was buried there, which went forth and waited outside the porch till the Mass was over. St. Augustine then came out, and asked the man who had excommunicated him. He replied that he had been excommunicated by a priest lying there in the churchyard. St. Augustine thereupon, after bidding him indicate the spot, disinterred the bones of the priest, and raised him to life. Then, at the Saint's instance the priest, "taking a scourge into his hand," released the dead man from his excommunication. The corpse, thus absolved, went back to its tomb within the church, and at once was reduced to dust. This is interesting, not of course as evidence of the practice of the days of St. Augustine, but as illustrating the popular beliefs of the age in which the legend grew up. There is, however, something very much like a *post-mortem* absolution in the Life of St. Gregory the Great.[2]

[1] *Annales de Winton*, p. 66.

[2] *Vita*, by John the Deacon, bk. ii. n. 45, and *Dialog.* bk. iv. ch. 55.

In the Greek Church, the efficacy of absolution after death was strongly insisted upon. Goar[1] was solemnly assured by many learned bishops and ecclesiastics of that communion, that the bodies of those who died under excommunication always swelled up, and would not fall into dust until the excommunication was removed. They even had a special name for such corpses. They called them τυμπανικὰ, swollen like drums. And here also it would seem that the devil was believed to wander abroad in these bodies until the curse was taken off them. The form for conferring such absolution is given by Goar, and the rubric declares that it should be written by the Bishop on paper (γράφει ταῦτα ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς χαρτίον), and that it should be read over the remains either by himself or some other priest whom he deputed. I may translate here the formula which he prints :

"It has befallen our humility to launch an excommunication against the most devout N., on account of a certain misdemeanour such as human nature, through diabolical instigation, is occasionally liable to. But since in some manner known to God, who knows all things before they come to pass, this person has paid the common debt of nature, while still involved in the tempest of our anathema, we by this present favour release him in the Holy Ghost from our former excommunication, so that henceforth, being free, he may enjoy with all Christians the vision of the Lord, and may hear His blessed and glorious summons, along with the Blessed of His Father."

The pronouncing of an absolution *in foro externo* after death is expressly provided for in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, cap. *A nobis*.[2] There was also sometimes ques-

[1] *Euchologium*, p. 668.

[2] *Decretalia Gregor. IX.* bk. v. tit. 39, cap. 28. This is a reply delivered by Innocent III., and dated 1199.

tion of an Indulgence granted with the absolution. See, for instance, the *post-mortem* absolution and Indulgence petitioned for by Duchess Bona of Savoy, the widow of Galeazzo Sforza, as to the details of which the reader may be referred to an article in the *Month* for June, 1895.[1]

As is shown, however, by the case of Abelard first mentioned, the *post-mortem* absolutions were certainly not confined to those who died under the censures of the Church. It seems to have been a common custom in countries under Anglo-Norman rule during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to place a formula of absolution upon the breast of the corpse. For this purpose a piece of thin sheet lead, cut into the shape of a cross, was sometimes used, and the form of absolution engraved upon it with a style. A certain number of these "absolution crosses" have been found in modern times. One of the most famous is that of Bishop Godfrey of Chichester, who died in 1088, which I reproduce.[2]—[Ed.]

Absolvimus te Godefride Episcope, vice
Sci Petri principis
Apostol., cui Dñus dedit
ligandi ataque solvendi
potestatem, ut quantum tua expetit
excusatio et ad nos pertinet remissio, sit
tibi Dñus Redemptor Omnipot. salus, omnium
peccatorum tuorum pius indultor. Amen.
vii Kl. octobris in festivitate S'ci
Firmini Epci. et Mart.
Obiit Godefridus Epis.
Cicestrensis ipso die.
V lunæ fuit.

[1] The documents are in Pasolini, *Vita di Caterina Sforza*, Appendix.

[2] See *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 419. For other absolution crosses, see *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 298; vol. xxxvi. p. 258 (with engraving); vol. xxxvii. p. 399; *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. xi. (1892).

## CHAPTER X.

### *A CARTHUSIAN BISHOP.*

The great activity of St. Hugh in his diocese was no hindrance to his care for his own perfection. Torn against his will from the life of the cloister, he still tried to live as much like a monk as his episcopal duties would permit. As he had shown on the day he left Witham, with his bundle of sheep-skins in front of him, he determined to remain a Carthusian, even though he was forced to be a Bishop as well.

With the exception of the robes of ceremony which he wore in public as a sign of his dignity, he retained the white habit of his Order, and never put off the Carthusian hair-shirt. His perpetual recollection alone would have marked him out as a son of solitude. The moment it ceased to be necessary for him to give his attention to external matters, he took refuge in that inner cell which he had built in the depths of his soul by prayer and meditation. On his journeys, especially, he kept such custody of the eyes that he saw nothing beyond the horse that carried him. Like St. Bernard, who rode for a whole day by the side of a lake, without perceiving it, our Saint never gave any satisfaction to his natural curiosity, and paid no heed to anything he met with on the way. If his attendants wanted him to notice anything, they had to draw his attention specially to it. It was even necessary for some one to ride in front of him, in order that the Bishop's horse might

take the right road; and if it had not been for this precaution, he would constantly have lost his way. Sometimes another traveller happened to come between him and his leader, and then if his horse chose to follow the new-comer, the Bishop remained perfectly unconscious of the substitution, until his proper guide, who had perhaps been distracted for a few moments, perceived the misadventure, and galloped after his master, grumbling and exclaiming: "Mercy on me! They have stolen my Bishop again!"[1] And he would find the holy man deep in contemplation, knowing nothing of what had occurred, and as completely abstracted from earthly things, as if he had been wandering in the desert of the Grande Chartreuse or in the forests of Witham. It was the same when he was residing in the country, at one of his manor houses. He never took a walk from mere curiosity or for pleasure, not even under the pretext of looking round his estates, but he remained at home, reading, praying, or engaged in business.

To this spirit of solitude, he added a great fidelity in carrying out all the pious practices of his Order. Thus, unless he was prevented, he regularly said a Votive Mass every Saturday, in honour of the Blessed Virgin;[2] always went to confession on that day, and

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 17.

[2] In the beginning of the Carthusian Order, it was not usual for all the priests amongst them to celebrate Mass daily, as we have already seen, p. 123, but furthermore, there were a certain number of days in the year when no Mass was offered at all, *e.g.*, on the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent and the Saturday before Palm Sunday. It is noteworthy that whereas in the Constitutions of Guigo, written before 1137, we are told with regard to the former day, *Sabbatum sequens missa caret;* the *Antiqua Statuta*, drawn up in the next century, modify this by saying, *Missa propria caret, et cantatur missa de B. Maria in conventu.* That Mass was more frequently omitted on Saturdays seems perhaps to be due to the fact that this day was assigned as the confession day for the monks. (*Statuta Guigonis*, cap. 7.)

sometimes oftener. He had so distributed the Lessons of the Office and the reading at table, as to go completely through the Bible every year, with the exception of the four Gospels, which he caused to be read after Prime. He was careful, also, that during the recitation of the Divine Office, half the officiating clergy should stand, while the other half sat down to rest, and he himself always conformed to this practice, out of respect, as he said, "to the presence of God and the holy angels;"[1] and all this with a regularity and gravity worthy of the most fervent Religious. Whenever the hour for the Divine Office arrived, he at once left off any occupation in which he was engaged, and hastened to sing the praises of God. He would not suffer any irreverence or negligence in the performance of this duty, and any of his priests who offended in this respect, received severe reprimands. Every day he read a portion of the Gospels—a practice which he never omitted, even though it had to be carried out on horseback as he rode from place to place. In short, he continued to practise, as nearly as possible, the same exercises of piety as had nourished his soul in religion, and which he found equally necessary to sustain him amid the cares of his pastoral charge.

He was no less faithful to the old penances and mortifications, although he knew how to accommodate them to his new duties, with that wise discretion which was also the result of his monastic education. He continued his abstinence from flesh meat, but in consideration of his weakness, and the exhausting work he had to get through, as well as to show a courteous condescension to his guests, he often eat fish, and occasionally drank a little wine. During his repasts, some one read aloud to him, as if he had still been in

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 16. On this point see the note at the end of the chapter.

a Carthusian monastery, either the Holy Scriptures, or the Acts of the Martyrs, the Lives of the Saints, or some of the homilies of the Fathers of the Church. When the time came for recreation, he broke silence, and showed himself full of cheerfulness and affability, without ever forgetting what was due to his position. "Let us rejoice as the saints rejoice,"[1] he would say to his companions, and he himself set the example of that sweet and serene joy which belongs to pure souls alone. On certain extraordinary days, when he had to take part in more noisy festivals, it was observed that he took special precautions to keep himself recollected, as a true Religious should always do. When, as was the custom at that time, the banquet was enlivened by the performance of minstrels, the good Bishop hardly ever raised his eyes from the table, and his grave and holy thoughts could be read in the expression of his face. As soon as the meal was over, he rose immediately, and withdrew to his own apartments with the chief guests, charming and edifying them by his conversation. His hospitality was renowned throughout the diocese, and when on a journey he always invited the parish priest of any place he was visiting, to his own table. "We must remember," he used to say to his major-domo, "the text of Holy Scripture: 'And the levite that is within thy gates beware thou forsake him not.'" A perfect simplicity, which was in conformity with the spirit of the Gospel and the customs of his Order, preserved him from all affectation of austerity, and gave a great charm to his society. He knew how to make himself all things to all men, and to find a word in season for every one.

One day, several men of the world began to praise

[1] In the Book of Judith (xvi. 24), we read that, "the people were joyful in the sight of the sanctuary." This was doubtless the thought in the Saint's mind.

the life of the Carthusian monks, in his presence; they compared it to the life of angels, and complained of the many obstacles and temptations in their own career. The holy Bishop, knowing that this was not altogether sincere, and that they had neither will nor vocation for a cloistered life, spoke in these words: "Do not imagine that the Kingdom of Heaven is only for monks and hermits. When God will judge each one of us, he will not reproach the lost for not having been monks or solitaries. but for not having been true Christians. Now, to be a true Christian, three things are necessary; and if one of those three things is wanting to us, we are Christians only in name, and our sentence will be all the more severe, the more we have made profession of perfection. The three things are: *Charity in the heart, truth on the lips, and purity of life;* if we are wanting in these, we are unworthy of the name of Christian."[1]

This was a favourite maxim with St. Hugh, and he loved to repeat it and to develop it according to the capacity of his hearers. To say the truth, it would be hard to sum up more concisely the moral teaching of the Gospel. It is this triple radiance of charity, truth, and purity which constitutes the loveliness of a true disciple of Jesus Christ, while, at the same time, nothing is more common or more unfortunate in its results than the attempt to do honour to one of these three virtues to the exclusion of the rest. Whatever the enemies of monasticism may say and think, the cloister is the best school wherein to learn that charity must not be separated either from truth or from purity. If faith and honour were banished from the rest of the world, they would still find a home in the hearts of those who have trodden all human respect under foot in order to conquer for themselves the kingdom of

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 9. "Teneatur caritas in corde, veritas in ore, castitas quoque in corpore non fallaciter Christiani."

truth. If the secret were ever lost of that admirable union of truth and mercy which, in the language of Holy Scripture, ought to meet and to embrace, we might recover it again in the example of those monks who, while possessed of the spirit of truest charity, put in practice this maxim of an early Carthusian writer: "Truth is apt to be bitter and unpalatable to your brethren, not through its own fault but through theirs, in the same way that it is weak eyes which are hurt by a strong light, not sound ones. But take heed not to render the truth more bitter still, by forgetting to speak it as it should be spoken, that is to say, with affection and charity."

St. Hugh's own example spoke well for the happy results of monastic teaching in this particular. This bishop-monk, as we have seen already, and shall see again in the sequel, was not less intrepid in the defence of justice and truth, than full of compassion for the poor, the ignorant, and the helpless. He was as firm as he was kind, and the strength of his character was as conspicuous as the goodness of his heart. But with all this he was equally remarkable for an unstained purity of soul, which fulfilled to the very letter his own idea of a perfect Christian.

He knew that it was impossible to take too many precautions to preserve this delicate blossom from every breath of harm, and yet he was not blind to the fact that these precautions ought not to stand in the way of duty and the service of souls. His conduct with regard to women was especially distinguished by its paternal kindness and gentleness, as far removed from any dangerous presumption, as from excessive precaution or fear. With perfect tact, he drew them on to follow the example of those holy women, the saints of God, whom he ever held up for their imitation. Particularly did he love to speak to them of her who

is Blessed among women, the glory and model of her sex. "You owe a special love to God," he would say, "because He condescended to be born of a woman. That is a privilege which honours every woman. No man can say that he was the father of God, but Mary was truly the Mother of God."[1]

To those who sought his guidance, he preached above all and before all else, the accomplishment of the duties of their state of life. "To do at all times and in all places what they ought to do, and to do it with the greatest possible perfection;"[2] such was his continual recommendation, as it was his own invariable practice. This is the true monastic spirit, but, also, in a modified form, it must be the spirit of all who wish to lead a Christian life. All the faithful should be at one in this, as the holy Bishop said, however diverse their several vocations may be, and thus, monks and warriors, learned men and poor ignorant labourers, virgins and married women, may all walk side by side along the road which leads to eternal life.

With this breadth of view and soundness of judgment, it is not surprising that St. Hugh, in dealing with the various religious communities of his diocese, acted in accordance with the wise directions of St. Bernard. "We are all," wrote that holy Doctor, "whatever our state of life may be, whether we be monks of Cluny, or Cistercians, Canons Regular, or simple laymen, whatever be our age, sex, and condition, at all times, and in all places, from the first to the last, we are all, I say, equally members of the Mystical Body of Christ. . . . If you ask me why I do not belong to all the Orders, because I praise them all, this is my reply: I praise them and I love them all. I approve of all who live piously and devoutly in the holy Church of God. I belong to one Order alone by my rule of life, but I

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 9. [2] *Ibid.* bk. iii. ch. 13.

embrace all the others in the bond of charity. And this charity, I am confident, will make me participate in the merit even of those observances which I do not myself practise."[1]

The numerous communities of monks and nuns in the diocese of Lincoln soon perceived the interest which our Saint took in all that concerned them. They found in him a champion of their rights, and an upholder of their Rules and Constitutions. Although he never hesitated to insist on any necessary reforms, the Bishop was far from wishing to propagate indiscriminately the special austerities of his own Order, and never imposed or advised their practice for Congregations who followed another rule of life. He even blamed Abbots and Superiors who wished to enforce perpetual abstinence in monasteries in which it had not before been observed. As he pointed out to one of them, such an innovation might produce a very bad spirit, especially if the table of the Abbot were served more delicately than that of the other Religious. "You who are Superiors," he said, "ought to be the example and consolation of your monks, and if you introduce a penance that is not prescribed by the Rule, you do not edify the community, but you provoke them to anger. . . . If I myself observe perpetual abstinence, it is because I belong to an Order in which it is practised. But, as you yourselves must see, the Carthusians are not a numerous body, and their austerities are not suitable for persons whose constitutions are delicate. Your own Order, on the contrary, aims at attracting many subjects and accommodating itself to all temperaments; for that reason it ought to show some indulgence to human infirmity, and to consider the needs of the feebler among the brethren."[2]

[1] S. Bernardi, *Apologia ad Gulielmum S. Thedorici Abbatem*, 3 et 4.
[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 16.

Under other circumstances, the holy Bishop would undoubtedly have added that there were many persons of delicate health who were quite able to keep the Carthusian Rule, but the tone of what he said was entirely in conformity with the traditions of his Order, which from its very foundation had been remarkable for its perfect disinterestedness. Thus, Dom Guigo, the author of the Constitutions, in 1132, advised Blessed Stephen of Obazine to adopt the Cistercian Rule, and not that of his own Order. "The Cistercians also," he said, "are travellers along the royal road. Their Constitutions can lead a soul to the highest perfection. With us, the number of persons we may receive is limited, as is the amount of funds we may possess. For you, who have already several monks under your guidance, and who intend to receive a great many more, that Rule is best which is not tied down to such definite restrictions, but which is limited solely by the high standard of fervour and virtue it enjoins upon all who belong to it."[1]

In these two answers, both inspired by the same spirit, is to be found an example of that justice and charity which ought to prevail not only in the relations of individuals, but also in those of corporate bodies. Without ceasing to cherish a preference for their own way of life, all Religious ought to be ready to acknowledge the merits of other Orders and Congregations, and to rejoice at their prosperity with true brotherly love.

Our Carthusian Bishop was not satisfied with speaking, he acted, and his influence was all-powerful in reviving regularity in the monasteries under his jurisdiction. One slight memorial of his canonical visitations remains to us, in a copy of the Constitu-

[1] Mabillon, *Annal.* lxxxvi. n. 72; *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, vol. xi.

tions given by him to a community of religious women at Cotham. The following is a translation of some of the most important passages in this interesting document:

"To all the faithful in Christ, who may see this present writing, Hugh, by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincoln, health and benediction in the Lord.

"The duties of our charge having brought us to Cotham, there to visit the Congregation of Servants of Christ, we have endeavoured to remedy certain things which appeared to us defective. As the number of nuns at present is too large for the resources of the house, we have ordained, with the consent of the chaplain, of the Prioress, and the rest of the community, that in future there shall not be more than thirty choir nuns, ten lay-sisters, and twelve lay-brothers. The service of the Altar shall be entrusted to one chief chaplain, assisted by two others only. . . . As the renunciation of all personal property is a necessary consequence of the religious profession, we expressly forbid any one in this house to possess anything of her own, after having taken the religious habit. Everything must be in common. Let the nuns, the chaplains, the Brothers, the Sisters, and the guests, be all fed with the same bread, and refreshed with the same drink, except in the case of the sick and infirm, who shall have what is necessary for them. As the society of secular persons may disturb the peace of the Religious, we do not allow any person in secular dress to remain in the house except for one day and one night, as a matter of necessary hospitality. We ordain also that no secular person or member of any other Religious Order shall be admitted to speak with any of the sisters in private. . . . No nun can be allowed to leave the house to visit her relatives without a

special permission from the Prioress, and the head chaplain, which is not to be granted except in a case of grave necessity. In order to prevent the crime of simony which precipitates many souls into error and damnation, we expressly forbid any person to be admitted into the congregation by a compact and in exchange for a sum of money, or any temporal advantage. . . . And, under pain of excommunication, we enjoin upon every person residing in this house, the faithful observance of all the Rules here laid down."[1]

Many other documents show us how he protected the possessions, and defended the privileges of the Congregations of his diocese.[2] Such are those charters or deeds of gift, in which the motive of the donation is thus indicated: "To satisfy the just demands of our Religious, and by our episcopal authority to prevent the alienation of the gifts made to Christ's poor." Two of these deeds throw light on the relations of

[1] This document, as printed by Dugdale, vol. v. p. 577, without names of witnesses or other indication of the date, affords no means of determining whether it emanated from St. Hugh, or whether it belongs to the long and active episcopate of his namesake Hugh de Wells. Apart from the character of the provisions it contains, which as the author of the life points out, are in thorough accord with St. Hugh's mind and spirit, I may refer to one little fact which possibly points to a special connection between St. Hugh and the community in question. Cotham or Nun-Cotton was a Cistercian Nunnery, as were also those of Legbourne or Leyburn, Greenfield, Gokwell, and Stykeswold, all in Lincolnshire. Now we have some indications of the special interest of St. Hugh in these foundations. A charter of his to Greenfield is printed by Dugdale, and in the common seal of Leyburn there is represented underneath a figure of our Lady the head of a bishop with mitre and crozier. (The matrix of this seal was in the possession of the late Mr. Robert Berkeley of Spetchley.) It is hard to see whom this can be intended to represent if not St. Hugh; on the other hand, if St. Hugh, in virtue of the Constitutions summarized above, was looked upon as a sort of lawgiver by the Cistercian communities of Lincolnshire, it would be very natural after his canonization that his portrait should be introduced into the common-seal of any of their houses.—[ED.]

[2] On St. Hugh's relations with the Benedictine Abbeys of Eynsham and St. Albans, see bk. iii. ch. 3.

St. Hugh with the nuns of St. Michael, near Stamford, and those of the Convent of Greenfield. In five other deeds we see him in communication with the monks of the hospital at Brackley, with those of the Monastery of St. Oswald at Bardeney, with those of St. Andrew at Northampton, with those of Luffield, and with the Canons Regular of Sempringham at Malton.[1]

The founder of the Order last named, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, was still living, during the first years of St. Hugh's episcopate. Everything tends to make us believe that the two servants of God were personally acquainted with each other, and we will pause for a few moments to give a short account of this illustrious ascetic, who is, like our Saint, one of the glories of the diocese of Lincoln.

Gilbert was born in Lincolnshire in the year 1083, and ordained priest by Bishop Alexander, who also wished to appoint him Archdeacon. But Gilbert refused to accept any ecclesiastical dignity, and preferred to found in his parish of Sempringham an Order of cloistered nuns, which developed rapidly. In 1148, he presented himself at the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, presided over by Pope Eugenius III., and humbly begged the Cistercians to take charge

[1] This is probably very far from being a complete list of the extant charters of St. Hugh in favour of religious communities. The Historical MSS. Commission (Report xii. Appendix 9, p. 559) lets us know that there are a considerable number of similar documents belonging to the reign of Henry II., preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Lincoln, some of which probably emanated from St. Hugh. There are also a great quantity of charters in the Record Office, which have as yet only partially been calendared in the two vols. of the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*. Even at the British Museum there are a few muniments which show St. Hugh, for instance, to have been in close relation with the Premonstratensians of Newhouse, and the Cistercian Nuns of Greenfield. See Harleian charters, 43 H. 38. b; 43 H. 23; 43 H. 22; 43 H. 24. Another charter of St. Hugh's, conceded to the nuns of Catesby, Northamptonshire, has been printed in full in the volume of *Ancient Charters* edited by Mr. J. H. Round for the Pipe Roll Society. Others, again, are in the Ramsey Cartulary.—[ED.]

of his convents and monasteries. But they were not willing to undertake this, and the Pope commanded him to continue his own good work. Returning to England, after forming a friendship with St. Bernard and St. Malachy, Gilbert founded a new Congregation of Regular Canons, to whom he gave the Rule of St. Augustine. During his lifetime, he established thirteen religious houses, four of Regular Canons, and nine of nuns, containing in all more than two thousand persons.

To a wonderful austerity of life, he united an energy of character which was specially manifested by his bold defence of St. Thomas of Canterbury. St. Gilbert was accused to the King of having sent large sums of money to the Archbishop, during his exile in France. He was threatened with banishment also, if he would not take a solemn oath that this accusation was false. He refused thus to exculpate himself from what, as he considered, would have been a very praiseworthy action, or to appear in any way to sympathize with the persecution of the holy primate. He accordingly remained patiently waiting for the order which was to drive him into banishment, when a royal message unexpectedly arrived setting him unconditionally at liberty.[1]

May we not imagine how delighted he must have been, towards the end of his life, to hear how the new Bishop of Lincoln had fearlessly spoken the truth to that same King, and had triumphed over his anger? Was he not full of joy to welcome this Carthusian, this true monk at heart, as the protector of his numerous

[1] The Life of St. Gilbert has been printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, from MS. Cotton, *Cleopatra*, B. 1. A MS. of the same Life in the Bodleian (Digby, 360) proves that St. Gilbert had met St. Hugh. (See Note to this chapter, p. 236). We also find St. Gilbert's name amongst the witnesses to a document issued by Bishop Chesney (c. 1160—1166), touching the immunities of the Lincoln Canons. (*Statutes*, Edit. Bradshaw.)—[ED.]

religious family? We cannot doubt that it was so. When St. Gilbert peacefully passed to his rest in 1189, at the age of 106 years, surrounded by the veneration of all, he must, we believe, have counted St. Hugh amongst his devoted friends, and have begged Heaven's blessing upon the beginnings of an episcopate so full of promise.

## Note to Book II. Chapter X.

The custom of requiring that half of the Canons engaged in the recitation of Office should always be standing during the chanting of the psalms, seems to have been general in England. In the summary of Lincoln observances (c. 1215), referred to on a previous page,[1] it is stated that: "All ought to remain standing during all the hours the whole year through, but with the following mitigations. . . . During matins those present in choir remain seated while the lessons are being read, and while the *responsoria* are being sung as far as *Gloria Patri*. . . . Whenever the psalms are being chanted they may sit alternately, except on doubles (*præterquam in duplicibus festis*), but with this proviso, that when any one is seated during any psalm, his next neighbour must remain standing. . . . Moreover, this permission to sit alternately does not extend to the choir boys, or to the rulers of the choir, who are to remain standing continuously whenever psalms are being chanted."

There is a good deal in the wording of the *Ordinarium Cartusiense* and the *Statuta Antiqua* which seems to suggest some relation with the early thirteenth century abstract of the Lincoln customs from which I have just quoted. However, in 1259, the practice of the Carthusians, as to sitting at the Office, while

[1] Wilkins, i. p. 535.

agreeing closely with the Lincoln customs as to the occasions when it was permitted, differs in this, that, among the Carthusians, the whole of one side of the choir sat down together, while the other remained standing, an exchange being made at the end of the psalm.[1] Whether this, however, was the Carthusian practice in St. Hugh's time it seems impossible to ascertain. It may be that the custom originated with St. Hugh, and spread from Lincoln to Salisbury and London. As a matter of fact, the summary of Lincoln customs which I have been quoting from was probably drawn up earlier than any existing code of Cathedral statutes which has been preserved to us, those which are assigned to St. Osmund of Salisbury having received their present shape after the year 1215. In any case, this alternation of sitting and standing was observed at Sarum and at St. Paul's and at Wells, though it was always regarded as a concession, and the St. Paul's statutes expressly note that the licence was granted *propter infirmitatem et debilitatem*.[2]

St. Hugh's punctiliousness in all matters pertaining to Church ceremonial is well illustrated in an anecdote told by Giraldus Cambrensis concerning him and an episcopal namesake of his, Hugh de Nonant, Bishop of Coventry. One day, which chanced to be the feast of a confessor, the two Bishops were about to assist at the same Mass, apparently the principal, or conventual Mass, of the church in which they were present. The Bishop of Coventry accordingly began to read the Introit, *Os justi meditabitur sapientiam*, aloud, but in his speaking voice, so at least I interpret Giraldus' phrase,

[1] The *Statuta Antiqua* say: *Chorus in quo est cantor hebdomadarius sedet totus ad primos psalmos et alter ad secundos*, part i. ch. 37, § 29 (Edit. 1510). The *Ordinarium* of 1582 seems to require that the change should be made at the end of every second psalm.

[2] Cf. *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense* (Rolls Series), i. p. 26; *Wells Statutes*, Edit. Reynolds, p. 3.

*voce rotunda et prosaica pronunciatione non melica.* This did not at all please the Bishop of Lincoln, and he promptly began to *sing* the same Introit in resonant tones, dwelling upon the notes, and introducing all the proper modulations. The Bishop of Coventry protested: "We must make haste," he said, "for the King will be waiting for us, and he is in a great hurry." "I can't help that," his brother of Lincoln replied, "we must do homage first to the King of kings. No secular employment can dispense us from what we owe to Him; and our service to-day should be festive, not restive"—*festive potius hoc festum et non festine est agendum.* The end of it was that St. Hugh came very late to the council-chamber, long after the others had assembled, but as it happened, and Giraldus seems to insinuate that a special providence ordered it so, no business had yet been broached, and nobody was kept waiting.

Hugh Nonant was one of the courtier bishops, a diplomatist and man of affairs. His hostility to the monks was almost proverbial. "If I had my way," he said to King Richard, "there would not be a monk left in England." Not long after this he banished the monks who formed the chapter of Coventry, and substituted secular canons in their place. An appeal was lodged with the Holy See, and in 1197, Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury, our Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, and Samson, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, were appointed by Pope Celestine III. to see that the Papal judgment decreeing the restoration of the monks was carried into effect.[1] It is interesting to find Abbot Samson, so familiar to all readers of Carlyle's *Past and Present* as the hero of the chronicle of Jocelyn de Brakelond, brought into close relation with his equally

[1] See this document in Hoveden (Rolls Series), vol. iv. p. 35. Something more will be said on this subject in bk. iii. ch. 5. The commission was renewed and extended in further letters from Innocent III.

strong-minded contemporary, the Bishop of Lincoln. Not less curious and interesting is it to learn that Hugh de Nonant, the sworn foe of the monks, resigned his bishopric the same year, withdrew to the Cluniac Monastery of Bec Herluin, where, it seems, he was admitted into the Order, and died there in 1198, after spending the intervening months in prayer, almsgiving, and penance. In the middle ages, the spirit of faith was often strong in those who might otherwise seem the most unpromising subjects.

Giraldus, who tells the story narrated above, adds that in the summer of 1189, the year of Henry II.'s death, while Hugh, with several other bishops, was in Normandy, following the King as he hurried from place to place, the only prelate who would not travel on the great festivals of the Church, but insisted on celebrating them all with due solemnity, was the Bishop of Lincoln.

With regard to St. Gilbert of Sempringham, we learn from a passage in the Bodleian Life that he knew St. Hugh, and that shortly before his death he deferred to the Bishop's judgment in some points concerning the Constitutions of the Gilbertine Order.[1]—[Ed.]

[1] "Ante pauca enim decessus sui tempora, providens perpetuæ in posterum collecti gregis firmitati, dissidium illud quod a laicis conversis quondam fuerat exortum coram bonæ memoriæ Hugone Lincolniensi episcopo cum communis capituli assensu pacificavit, quem modum et mensuram in victa et vestitu et ceteris motibus suis tenerent satis rationabili moderatione decernens. Quam constitutionem sibi gratam esse debere judicantes omnes laici amplexati sunt nihil addendum vel minuendum fore statuentes. Ubi tamen secundum priorem constanciæ suæ rigorem illud excepit, ut si quid contra primam eorum professionem constitueretur, hoc non ad eum spectare asseruit nec se voluit laudari auctorem." (Digby, 360, fol. 45, r°.) I owe the transcription of this passage to the kindness of the Rev. Father de Smedt, S.J., President of the Bollandists.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *HIS RETREATS AT WITHAM.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all the care he took to remain faithful to the Carthusian Rule, St. Hugh never ceased to regret the peaceful life of his solitary cell. Several times he begged of the Pope to allow him to give up his episcopal charge and return to the cloister; a permission which he would have regarded, to use the phrase current in his Order, as a real "Mercy." But less fortunate in this respect than several other Carthusian Bishops,[1] his request was always refused, and at last his messengers were severely reprimanded, and dismissed in such a manner that St. Hugh never ventured to appeal again.[2]

There was one consolation, however, left to him, and this he found in his long and frequent visits to his beloved monastery at Witham. If his duties permitted, he would go there once or twice each year, and make a stay of a month or sometimes longer. He had a special preference for making his retreats in the autumn. At that time of the year, nature herself seems to preach recollection and preparation for death; there is a touch of

[1] Amongst others: Engelbert, who was a Carthusian monk before he was appointed Bishop of Châlons, afterwards allowed to retire to the Monastery of Mont Dieu: St. Artaud, Bishop of Belley, allowed to return to his old Carthusian Monastery at Arvières. Of St. Artaud we shall hear again in connection with St. Hugh. (*Annales Ord. Cartus.* iii. p. 95.)

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 13.

austerity about the silence and denudation of the woods; and the soul is open to grave thoughts, and prepared for that interior harvest which must be accompanied by a total renunciation of all things.

When St. Hugh drew near the Monastery of Witham, his heart was filled with joy, and those who watched him saw the colour come into his face, and his eyes shine. He, usually so silent, could not contain his happiness, and expressed it in words to his companions. Nothing makes us appreciate solitude so much as the tumult of the world ; nothing is so sweet as to quit our intercourse with worldly things and persons, for the holy society of souls consecrated to God.

The monastery at Witham was in the same state of fervour and religious observance, as when St. Hugh had left there. The Prior was Dom Bovo, the venerable monk who had so strongly advocated sending Hugh to England, and had also predicted his future promotion to the episcopate. Dom Bovo, as Prior of Witham, neglected nothing to maintain in his monastery that heavenly peace which has its origin in religious virtue. He applied to the former Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, Dom Guigo II., for a copy of his Instructions on a life of solitude. Dom Guigo had in fact dedicated the book to him, and called it, *De Quadripertito Exercitio Cellæ*—"On the Four Exercises proper for a Monastic Cell," in it he enlarged upon the advantages of reading, contemplation, prayer, and work, with many quotations from Holy Scripture, and a sound knowledge of spiritual things. The preface expressed the veneration felt for Dom Bovo by his former Superior, whose eminent sanctity we know. And we may well say that these directions for the guidance of a solitary life were faithfully reproduced in the actions of the Prior of Witham and his monks.

An edifying death occurred at Witham soon after Dom Bovo succeeded St. Hugh as Prior. Brother Gerard of Nevers yielded up his holy soul to God, surrounded by the loving veneration of his Religious brethren, as well as of the visitors to the monastery, among whom chanced to be found Peter of Blois. It is from him we learn that for seven years, the holy Brother had ardently desired death, and prepared for it by his prayers and tears. "In all his actions," says this writer, "he longed after Jesus Christ, despising the things of earth, and looking up to Heaven; using this world as though he used it not." Although a man of no learning, he understood every point of Catholic doctrine, as perfectly as if he had studied all his life in the theological schools of Paris. "His only Master was the Lord who taught the Apostles." And Peter of Blois ends in these eloquent words: "May my wisdom and my philosophy be those of Brother Gerard, whose heart was full of Jesus Christ and of Jesus Christ alone."[1]

During his retreats at Witham, the sole desire of St. Hugh was to resemble in all things his brothers in Religion. A cell was always reserved for him, similar to those of the other monks; he occupied it alone, without any attendant, laying aside every symbol of rank or dignity. His clothes, his bed, and everything about him, differed in nothing from what was common to all. Every day he celebrated Holy Mass with ardent devotion, assisted only by the Father Sacristan and his chaplain. With the sole exception of the pastoral ring, his vestments while celebrating were those of any other Carthusian. He insisted on taking his turn as hebdomadarius, or officiating priest for the

[1] "Sapientia ergo mea, et philosophia mea sit philosophia Fratris Gerardi, qui nihil habebat in corde nisi Jesum Christum." (Petrus Bles. in compend. super Job: *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 58.)

week, blessing the holy water before the Sunday Mass, and chanting the prayers in the Office. On Sunday evenings, he went with the rest of his brothers to beg for bread at the refectory door. There was but one privilege he asked of the Prior on the occasion of these visits, and that was to have free access to the basket where the remnants of bread were put. It was his practice to select the hardest and driest crusts, and carry them away to serve him as a treat, for he declared that they tasted much better than any ordinary bread. Another of his pleasures was to wash the plates and dishes he had used, or even any he accidentally came across; he did this most carefully, and took an innocent pride in the thoroughness with which his work was performed.

His greatest wish, however, was to find some one who would be willing to give him fraternal correction, and of course this was somewhat difficult, in spite of all his efforts to humble himself. He succeeded, however, at last in inducing one of the oldest and most edifying monks of Witham to render him this important service. The admonitor was Dom Adam, who had formerly been a Premonstratensian and Abbot of Dryburgh. A confidential friendship thus grew up between these two saintly men; and resulted in the frequent exchange of vigorous exhortations with which they animated each other to progress in perfection. Dom Adam, whose piety and learning gave him great authority, was not afraid to read his friend many a lecture, which was gratefully received, although perhaps scarcely deserved. "Many people," he would say, "admire you as a great and holy Bishop; but I will ask you what have you done that is worthy of a Pastor of souls? . . . What employment do you make of the talent entrusted to you? Do you dare to think that there is any comparison between your labours and

those of the Apostles, who, despising all dangers, founded our Holy Church, and shed their blood for her sake?" And the good old monk would continue drawing his picture of the contrast between the Bishops of his own day and their heroic predecessors. Hugh listened to him in all humility, and forgot the good he had already done, to think of all that remained for him to do. Then, in his turn, he exhorted his monitor to strive more and more to be a perfect monk, and so the two friends spurred each other on to fresh efforts in the service of God.

But there was another most efficacious humiliation which Hugh never neglected, namely, that of sacramental confession. Besides his weekly confession, St. Hugh had recourse to the tribunal of penance whenever his conscience reproached him ever so slightly. He made many general confessions of his whole life from childhood, and during each retreat he wished at least to mention all the faults he could remember since the retreat of the year before. All these repeated self-accusations were made in a spirit of deep compunction, and were marked by a humility which found expression in the following favourite maxim of his. St. Francis de Sales often quoted it in these terms: "The evil deeds which I commit, are really evil, and really mine; the good that I do is neither wholly good, nor wholly my own."[1]

He who humbles himself shall be exalted. When St. Hugh retired to his cell, he was there raised to such heights of contemplation and union with God, that he

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 9. According to the *Année Sainte de la Visitation* (vol. iv. p. 2), St. Francis de Sales attributes this maxim to St. Hugh of Grenoble. This is not the only instance in which the two St. Hughs have been confounded, and the confusion between them is very natural. It is just possible, however, that both these two, who were compatriots and nearly contemporaries, may have given expression to the same thought.

seemed already to enjoy a foretaste of Heaven. To him might have been applied that beautiful description in the book written by his old Superior. "When you are by yourself in your cell, remember that you ought not to feel lonely. You are never less lonely than when you are alone, if only you are really what you ought to be. Are you lonely, when retiring into the sanctuary of a pure heart, detached from all earthly things, and closing fast the door against them, you pray in secret to your Father who is in secret? Are you lonely, when rising on the wings of love, and of an understanding supernaturally enlightened, all vain and earthly thoughts are laid aside, and the spirit roams free through the splendid mansions of those heavenly beings who continually behold the Face of the Father. Are you lonely, when your soul illumined and enraptured soars up among the patriarchs, through the midst of the prophets, into the senate of the Apostles, amid the plains studded with the brilliant roses of the martyrs, the beautiful violets of the confessors, the perfumed lilies of the virgins? Ah! surely; it is good for us to be here!"[1]

Hugh also was transfigured on his own solitary Thabor, and when visitors came to break in upon his retirement, they found him with his face shining with that heavenly radiance which told of the presence of the Spirit of God. On such occasions, he tried his hardest to resume his ordinary manner, but in spite of himself, some of the secrets of Divine grace were betrayed. Burning words flowed from his lips, and there was an exquisite tenderness in his voice which captivated all who came near him.

Yet he never refused to interrupt his contemplation for any cause of charity or necessity; still less did he hesitate to join with cheerfulness and alacrity in those

[1] *De quadripertito Exercitio Cellæ*, ch. xxviii.

few common recreations which are doled out to the Carthusian monk with a wisely sparing hand. Naturally, he was the centre of such gatherings, and they looked to him to tell them something that would interest and edify. He did not disappoint their expectations, but had a store of anecdotes about the holy men of his time, and of his native country, which made those hours of relaxation delightful to all. According to the recollections of his chaplain, he specially loved to speak of St. Hugh of Grenoble, of St. Anthelmus of Belley, of Brother William of Nevers, and of a certain Cistercian monk, who had distinguished himself in the Crusades by his extraordinary courage.

The two holy Bishops, Hugh of Grenoble and Anthelmus, whom he thus delighted in extolling, had been, one of them the friend, and the other the successor, of St. Bruno. Both of them had maintained the practice of retiring at intervals to the desert of the Grande Chartreuse, as St. Hugh himself did to Witham. Both were remarkable for a singular regard for the virtue of holy purity, and this was what the Bishop of Lincoln loved specially to dwell upon in chatting with his friends within the cloister. He told them how St. Hugh of Grenoble never raised his eyes in the presence of any woman, and knew none of them by sight, excepting one lady who frequently sought his direction; while St. Anthelmus, as he himself said, looked at all women indifferently, but always pictured them to himself in the hideous disenchantment of the tomb.[1]

The name of Brother William of Nevers was not unworthy of being mentioned by our Saint, by the side of these two holy Bishops. His history has been very

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 12. St. Anthelmus' own phrase is almost too vigorous to bear translation. "Ego sane," he is reported to have said, "feminas indifferenter quaslibet aspicio, sed mox universas excorio."

briefly touched upon above,[1] and it must always have had a special interest for those who had been the constant associates of his near relative Gerard.

As for the brave crusader who also occupied a place of honour in the tales of St. Hugh, we think that the Saint must have made his acquaintance while he was still a monk and procurator at the Grande Chartreuse. He was a gentleman of Maurienne, whose name has not come down to us. He left his house, his wife, and his children, to fight in the Holy Land. There, after having slain many of the enemies of the Cross, he fell into the hands of the Saracens, and underwent a cruel imprisonment.

Instead of losing courage, he strengthened the Christians who were his fellow-captives, and prepared them to suffer martyrdom with joy. Sentence of death was in fact pronounced upon all of them, but the young Mussulman chief who was appointed to carry it into execution, was so struck by the noble bearing of the knight of Maurienne, that he spared his life, and eventually released him. Grieved to the heart at being thus deprived of the martyr's crown, the crusader returned to his own country, and soon took advantage of a severe injury received in some military exercise, to retire completely from the world. He took the Cistercian habit, and was cured soon afterwards. Every year he was allowed to pay a visit to the Grande Chartreuse, which he looked upon as the school of high perfection. He attentively studied the ways of the monks there, for his own profit and that of his brothers in Religion. While he was at the Grande Chartreuse, he always praised the Cistercians; but as soon as he returned to his own monastery, he spoke of nothing but the virtues of the Carthusians. It was his aim by these means to enkindle in both monasteries a holy

[1] Bk. i. ch. 10.

spirit of emulation, and the pattern of his own life corresponded well with the end he had in view. These were a few of the stories related at recreation by the holy Bishop of Lincoln.

Among those who listened to him was good Brother Aynard, whose heart kept its youth, in spite of his extreme old age. The remembrance of the Grande Chartreuse, and the desire of seeing it once more, had taken a strong possession of him. Seeing that his presence was no longer necessary at Witham, he begged to be allowed to return to his beloved desert; but his prayer was not granted. The idea, however, clung to him, and it seems that one day, while St. Hugh chanced to be there for one of his retreats, he took his stick and set out for that promised land, towards which all the longing desire of his old age had turned. The Bishop was informed of his departure, and at once started in pursuit. He soon overtook the old man in a neighbouring wood. "Now, may God forgive you, dear Brother!" he said. "What do you mean by setting off without me, who have always considered you as my father? Are you going to leave me alone in this strange land? Oh! I know your good intentions. You wish to pass your remaining days in the midst of our holy hermits of the Grande Chartreuse. Very well. I am coming with you." With these words, he took off his pastoral ring and gave it to his attendants, saying: "Make all possible haste, and carry this ring to our good lords, the Canons of Lincoln. Tell them to choose another Bishop, for I am going to return to my solitude. Too long have I suffered from the cares and anxieties of the world, and now I mean to have done with it, once for all."

Brother Aynard was completely dumbfounded at this speech, which of course was hailed with complaints and expostulations by all his attendants. He

burst into tears, and threw himself at the feet of the Bishop, imploring him to change his mind. With much eloquence he demonstrated to him that the shepherd of souls must not thus abandon his flock; then at last, seeing that his words had no effect, he embraced the knees of the prelate, crying out: "Ah, well, as long as a spark of life animates this old body of mine, I will never allow you thus to desert your post. Rather will I remain to die in this strange land, than bring about such a calamity. Let us each return to our ordinary duties; and let us take care not to seek our own interests, by forgetting the interests of Jesus Christ." We can understand that this was exactly the resolution which the Bishop had desired to provoke by his innocent stratagem. They entered into an agreement by which Aynard promised not to leave Witham, and Hugh promised not to leave Lincoln. After which, each congratulating himself on having gained a great victory, they gaily re-entered the monastery.

The story was worth telling as a specimen of the delightful tact which the Saint was master of, and with which he so often succeeded in leading back to the right path any Religious who were tempted to stray from it. Thanks to him, the good Brother Aynard had not this time to undergo the same severe penance which had attended his former act of wilfulness at the Grande Chartreuse. He died in peace, about the year 1204, being more than a hundred years old, and the Order still treasures the memory of his long services and his courage in well-doing.[1]

We see that the time spent by St. Hugh at Witham was not lost either for himself or for his brethren. Even for the interests of his diocese and those of the

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 13; *Annal. Ord. Cartus*, vol. iii. p. 303. According to St. Hugh's biographer, Brother Aynard was one hundred and thirty years of age when he died.

Universal Church, of which he was the vigilant defender, under the direction of the Sovereign Pontiff, it was surely not wasted. Certain censors among his contemporaries who had little sympathy with the contemplative life, were disposed to judge otherwise, and reproached the Bishop with giving too much time to these spiritual holidays, although they would not have had a word to say against him if he had spent long months at Court or in other visits of courtesy. But Hugh cared nothing for such reproaches, and continued to refresh his soul at regular intervals, and to draw new life and vigour from the springs that had nourished his earlier years. The most active saints followed the same method, and their example proves like his, that there is nothing which contributes so much as retirement and prayer to the formation of the character of an apostle.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *PREPARATIONS FOR THE THIRD CRUSADE. DEATH OF KING HENRY II.*

One year after the consecration of St. Hugh, on the 29th of September, 1187, the city of Jerusalem, which had been for nearly a century the capital of a Christian kingdom, fell again into the hands of the Mahometans. When the news of this disaster reached Europe, the whole Catholic world was filled with consternation. Then the powerful voice of the Head of the Church was uplifted in the midst of the universal mourning, lamenting the fate of the Holy City, and calling upon all the faithful to take measures for its speedy deliverance.

Pope Gregory VIII., in a Bull worthy of the occasion and of his predecessors, after having described the disaster, exhorted all faithful Christians to make common cause to repair it. He declared that there was danger not only of the infidels taking possession of the rest of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but of their gathering their forces to march against other Christian nations. "It behoved all Christian Kings and people," he said, "to forget their divisions and private quarrels, and unite in hastening to the re-conquest of that blessed land, upon which the Eternal Truth manifested Himself for our salvation, and did not shrink from the Agony and Death of the Cross." The Sovereign Pontiff concluded by enumerating the privileges ac-

corded to all who should take part in the new Crusade, foremost among which was a Plenary Indulgence, and by recommending the soldiers of Christ to look upon themselves as penitents making expiation for their sins, rather than as soldiers of the world, in quest of earthly glory." A general fast was also ordered, to appease the anger of God, and obtain the deliverance of Jerusalem.

This appeal of the Holy Father was at once responded to, and on all sides preparations for the Third Crusade were commenced. The Bishops warmly seconded the command of their Chief Pastor, and many of the most eminent amongst them took the Cross themselves, to set an example to the rest of the faithful. The Bishop of Lincoln was not able to leave his diocese, which had been so long without a shepherd, but we are surely warranted in believing that he shared the general enthusiasm, and stimulated his flock to generous efforts in the cause.[1]

A rationalist historian, who is more disposed to argue against, than to exaggerate the advantages of the Crusades, thus describes the spectacle presented by the Church after the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin. "In one moment, the face of the whole Christian world was changed. Mourning over the loss of the tomb of Jesus Christ, men came to think a little more of the Gospel which He had come to preach and began to amend their lives. Vice was banished from the towns; injuries were forgiven; enemies were reconciled; and abundant alms were given to the poor. Penitent Christians lay upon ashes, and covered themselves with hair-cloth, thus desiring to expiate their sins by fasting and mortification. The clergy were the first to set the example."[2]

[1] Gervase says that St. Hugh himself took the Cross. (i. p. 410.)—[ED.]

[2] Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. ii. bk. vii. p. 313. It is a striking thing to read how the news impressed good Abbot Samson at

St. Hugh, no doubt, did all in his power to secure for his diocese the blessings of this time of conversion and salvation. If he had needed any other spur to stimulate his zeal than devotion to the Holy See and to the flock committed to him, he had only to remember the traditions of his Order; for St. Bruno had been the intimate friend and adviser of Pope Urban II. at the time of the First Crusade. Even in our own days, the Carthusians recite every night the beautiful Psalm lxxviii. for the deliverance of the Holy Land.[1]

Pope Gregory VIII. died after a reign of less than two months; but his successor, Clement III., urged on the work, and William, Archbishop of Tyre, was specially commissioned to preach the Crusade in the West. In the discharge of this duty he succeeded in awakening a marvellous enthusiasm. At Gisors, King Philip Augustus of France and Henry II. of England took the Cross, after listening to his burning words, forgetting for the time their private differences, to join hands in the cause of Christ. At Mainz, in company with Cardinal Henry of Clairvaux, he pleaded the cause of the Holy Places with so much eloquence, that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa descended from his throne, and then and there received from the hands of

Bury St. Edmunds. "At the taking of Jerusalem by the pagans," says Carlyle, paraphrasing Brakelond, "Abbot Samson put on a cilice and hair-shirt, and wore under-garments of hair-cloth ever after. He abstained also from flesh and flesh meats (*carne et carneis*) thenceforth to the end of his life." (*Past and Present*, bk. ii. ch. 15.) Brakelond does not quite say that Samson never eat meat again, but it is clear that this far-off English Abbot looked upon the loss of Jerusalem as a grievous personal sorrow, and as a manifestation of God's anger, for which it behoved all good Christians to make expiation by every means in their power.—[ED.]

[1] According to Dom Le Couteulx, it was after the Council of Lateran, in 1215, that the Carthusian Order began the recitation of the prayers which are now said for the Holy Land. But we have reason for believing that similar prayers were in use by the Order from the time of the First Crusade. (See *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 391.)

the preacher the emblem which pledged him to fight against the infidel. Thus, the three greatest monarchs of Christendom were sworn to take part in the new Holy War, and there is little doubt that they sincerely desired to do all in their power for its success.[1] The King of England addressed a letter to the Christians of the East, promising them speedy help, and repeating with enthusiasm the words of the Prophet Isaias, the speedy fulfilment of which he predicted: "Lift up thine eyes round about, O Jerusalem, and see all these that are gathered together, to come to thee."[2] Alas! the demon of discord soon put a stop to all these promising preparations, and war broke out again between England and France.

Richard, the son of King Henry II., joined with Philip Augustus against his father, imagining that the old King intended to leave the crown of England to his younger son John. Henry met with a succession of reverses, and was forced to sign the conditions of peace dictated by his enemies. As a final blow, he saw the name of his son John, at the head of a list of his own nobles who were in league against him. This broke his heart. He journeyed to Chinon, where he fell dangerously ill, cursing his rebellious children. "On the seventh day, all hope of his recovery vanished, and at his own request, he was carried into the church, and received, at the foot of the altar, the last consolations of religion. The moment he expired, the Bishops and Barons departed, while the other attendants stripped the corpse and carried off everything that was valuable upon which they could lay their hands. He was buried with little pomp in the choir of the Convent

[1] An extraordinary tax known as the Saladin tithe was imposed to defray the expenses of the Crusade. None were exempted from it but the Crusaders themselves, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the nuns of Fontevrault, and the leper hospitals.

[2] Isaias xlix. 18.

of Fontevrault, in the presence of his son Richard, and of a few knights and prelates."[1] It was the 6th of July, 1189.

The Bishop of Lincoln does not appear to have been there, but we may be sure his fervent prayers were not wanting on behalf of his unhappy friend and King, who had almost invariably shown him the greatest confidence and affection. What could he think of this sad death? Doubtless he recognized in it the finger of God, but without despairing of the salvation of a soul whose welfare he had always had at heart.

No one can deny the fact—and his own contemporaries were deeply impressed by it—that the Divine vengeance seemed to have set its seal on the last days of Henry II. Persecuted by his own children, the poor old King thus expiated his persecution of the holy Archbishop of Canterbury, his own spiritual father. That was the great crime of his life, and must always remain as a blot upon his memory. But while we cannot hope to whitewash the evil deeds of Henry, we must always remember how many proofs of repentance and of a wish to repair the past he gave in the course of his after life. From the time of his penitential pilgrimage to Canterbury, down to his last moments, which were sanctified by the sacraments of the Church, he had on many occasions, in spite of occasional relapses, acted and spoken in a manner worthy of a Christian prince. And his last resolution of setting out for the Holy Land, at his age a formidable undertaking, showed that his wish to make atonement for his sins was not a mere pretence.

During his life he had not neglected to make friends for himself to plead his cause with God. He gave abundant alms to the poor and to various religious communities; and seven years before his death, about

[1] Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 236.

the time that St. Hugh became his constant adviser, he made a will which contained many pious and generous bequests. Thus he gave twenty thousand silver marks, to be divided into four equal portions, between the Knights Templars, the Knights Hospitallers, the different religious houses in Palestine, and for the defence of the Holy Land. He gave five thousand to religious houses in England, three thousand to those in Normandy, and two thousand to those of Anjou. As a dowry for poor maidens in England, so that they might be able to get respectably married, he left three hundred gold marks; two hundred for the same object, in Normandy; and a hundred for poor maidens of Anjou. Two thousand silver marks were to be divided among the nuns in Fontevrault, where he wished to be buried; and ten thousand more were left to other convents and monasteries.[1] To the Carthusian Order he bequeathed a legacy of two thousand silver marks, not to speak of an annual sum of fifty marks which was to be paid to the same monks out of the royal exchequer.[2]

An historian of his own day says of Henry II., "I think, that if his death was miserable, it was because God wished to punish him severely in this life, and show mercy to him in the next."[3] There are good reasons, as we have already seen, for sharing this opinion, and for not passing more severe judgment upon Henry II., than upon his great contemporary, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who died about a year after the King of England. The Emperor had been a persecutor of Pope Alexander III., and he had done

[1] See Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 239. Henry II.'s will seems to have made a considerable impression on his contemporaries, which is evidenced, for instance, by the fact that all its leading provisions appear in French verse in the rhyming chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft.—[ED.]

[2] *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. ii. p. 493, and vol. iii. p. 23.

[3] William of Newburgh, *Hist. rerum. Anglic.* bk. iii. ch. 16.

as much to disturb the peace of the Church, as the persecutor of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Frederick set out for the Holy Land, in atonement for his sins, but before reaching Jerusalem, he was drowned while bathing in a river of Armenia, having time, before he breathed his last, to recommend his soul to God, and make an act of resignation to God's will that he should go no further.

In those days, faith survived in the hearts even of those monarchs who were most intoxicated by their own greatness and power; so that sooner or later, their conscience awoke, and they returned to the practice of religion and to the fulfilment of their neglected duties. It was much easier for them to listen to the voice of a still living faith, when they had the happiness of meeting with saints whose very appearance preached virtue and holiness more impressively than the most eloquent sermon. Frederick Barbarossa had this privilege, when he saw St. Peter of Tarentaise; and Henry II. of England enjoyed a similar grace, not once but continuously, when he became the friend of St. Hugh of Lincoln. That was a title of honour which certainly must have pleaded in his favour before the tribunal of God; nor must it be ignored or passed over by the tribunal of history.

## Note to Book II. Chapter XII.

As an illustration of the impression which Henry II.'s character made upon the best informed chroniclers of a somewhat later date, I may quote the comments of Matthew Paris, upon that portion of the prophecy of Merlin, which was supposed to have reference to Henry, identified as the King "who overturned the walls of Ireland." "His beginning," said the bard, "shall lie open to wandering affection, but his end

shall carry him up to the Blessed above. For he shall restore the seats of Saints in their countries and settle pastors in convenient places. Two cities he shall invest with two palls and shall bestow virgin presents upon virgins. He shall merit by this the favour of the thunderer and shall be placed among the Saints."[1] Upon "restoring the seats of Saints," Matthew remarks: "It is to be observed that the said King, of whom there is here question, to wit Henry, first brought to this kingdom the Templars and Hospitallers, the White Monks [the Carthusians?][2] and the nuns of Font Evraud, and he gave them virgin gifts, that is gifts new and unheard of which were never given by any other King before him." By "the seats of Saints," Matthew understands, "bishoprics, abbacies, and such like," and he goes on to tell us that Henry "newly established two archbishoprics in Ireland."[3] I am not of course concerned to defend either prophecy or interpretation; I quote it only to show Matthew's attitude of mind towards Henry, whose history, he and other chroniclers seemed to consider to have accurately fulfilled all these predictions.

With regard to Henry's unhappy relations with his sons, Giraldus tells us that the King, at some earlier period, had had an allegorical picture painted for him at Winchester, in which he bade the artist represent an eagle attacked by four of its young. He seems to have had a prophetic foreboding of the disloyalty of all of them, and attributed their revolt to the effects of a curse which had been laid upon their ancestor, the grandfather of his Queen Eleanor. This was William, Duke of Aquitaine, who seduced and carried

[1] I quote from the old translation of Aaron Thompson, p. 211.

[2] The term "White Monks" seems more usually to have been applied to the Premonstratensians or to the Cistercians.

[3] Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*. Edit. Luard, i. p. 208.

off the wife of one of his vassals, the Viscount of Châtelheraut. A devout hermit who came to him in God's name to protest against this outrage was received with insult and contempt, whereupon the hermit told him solemnly that since he would not hear God's warning, neither he nor any one of his lineal descendants should ever know happiness in his children. It seems worth while referring to the matter here because Giraldus reports that the story was often told by "Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, of blessed and holy memory," who quoted as his authority no less a personage than King Henry II. himself.—[Ed.]

# BOOK III.

## ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN AND RICHARD OF THE LION HEART.

1189—1199.

## CHAPTER I.

### *RICHARD I. OF ENGLAND.*

In the beginning of the new King's reign, the Church might well ask herself whether she would find a persecutor or a protector in the successor of Henry II. Richard possessed many brilliant qualities, but they were marred by grave defects. His courage was beyond cavil, and it was to be attested by many a deed of daring; he had a great love for poetry and minstrelsy; his inspirations were sometimes worthy of a true knight and a Christian King; he could be princely in his benefactions, and was capable of generous impulses and genuine remorse. But with all this he had no command over the natural impetuosity of his character, and was often the prey of the most violent passions. One day he even drew his sword and threatened the Papal Legate, who had dared to take his father's part against him. It was well known, also, that he hesitated at no unjust and oppressive measures to secure the necessary funds for his warlike enterprises. Therefore there was much fear mixed with the hopes which greeted his accession to the throne, a fear which even the good impression made by his first acts could not entirely dispel.

Richard began well by asking to receive public absolution for the crime of making war upon his father, and by sending his mother, Queen Eleanor, before him to England, with power to release all prisoners who were unjustly detained, and to pardon all political

offences. On the 3rd of September, 1189, he was crowned at Westminster Abbey, by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the Bishops and Barons of England. He then took the triple oath, by which he engaged to do all in his power to secure peace to the Church and all Christian people, to defend the property of each one of his subjects against all unlawful claims or spoliation, and to unite mercy with justice in administering the laws. Before placing the crown on his head, the Archbishop solemnly adjured him not to take upon himself the royal dignity unless he was prepared faithfully to keep these sacred promises. Therefore, it was not merely an empty form of words, but a solemn undertaking, by which the King assumed the principal obligations of his exalted position, in the sense in which they were understood by the Church, who is the guardian and avenger of the rights of her Christian children. Among the Bishops who were present at this imposing ceremony St. Hugh was to be seen, doubtless anticipating new struggles in the future, and determined always to act in the spirit of those words of his Lord: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the things that are God's."

On the day after the coronation and unction of the new King, the Bishops and Barons of England assembled early in the morning to do homage to their Sovereign. They had, however, to wait a long time for the appearance of one prelate, and that was the Bishop of Lincoln. They sent to know the cause of this delay, and were told that the man of God had begun the day as usual by saying Mass, with his wonted deliberation and devotion, and had then duly set out for the palace; but on his way thither he came upon the corpse of a man, lying unburied in the streets, who had been killed the day before in a tumult that had broken out against

the Jews. Immediately, according to his usual custom, St. Hugh left everything else to perform the last offices of charity to the dead. He inquired if the dead man was a Christian, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, sent to buy a large piece of stuff, in which he himself helped to wrap the body. The Bishop and his attendants then carried the dead man to the cemetery, dug a grave, performed all the last rites, and finally proceeded on their way to the palace. As it happened, Richard himself had kept the whole assembly waiting for hours, and St. Hugh was in time to be introduced into his presence with the rest of the Bishops.[1]

We do not know if this incident came to the ears of Richard I., or if he showed any annoyance at so strange a proceeding. But, at least, he might conclude from it that the Bishop of Lincoln, however faithful he might be to his King, would always put the service of Christ, his Lord and Master, in the first place. Moreover, at this time Richard was in favourable dispositions for appreciating the sincerity of a man like St. Hugh. He was on the eve of setting out for the Holy Land, and it was surely an act of true faith and devotion, which mere love of adventure can hardly explain, thus to leave his country at the very beginning of his reign for the dangers and hardships of a Crusade, especially as there was a chance of never returning at all, or returning only to find his throne occupied by a rival.

Richard remained in England but four months after his coronation, and then set out for Normandy, there to concert arrangements with the King of France as to their joint departure for the Holy Land. In obtaining recruits for his army, he found a powerful auxiliary in Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, who preached the Crusade with apostolic eloquence, first to the nobles

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Vita S. Hugonis,* Dis. i. ch. vii. ; *Vita Metrica,* vv. 1006—1015.

and gentlemen assembled at Northampton, and afterwards in most of the counties of England, and especially in Wales, where great enthusiasm was kindled. So ardent was the spirit of faith among the country people, that in some places whole villages were depopulated through their male inhabitants enlisting under the banner of the Cross, and the women had to hide the clothes of their husbands and sons, to prevent them from following the universal example. Even miracles were said to have been worked, evidencing the holiness of the cause and the zeal of the Archbishop. Amongst others, an old woman, who had been blind for three years, so Giraldus assures us, sent her son to obtain a small piece of the Archbishop's robe. As he was unable to penetrate the crowd which surrounded the prelate, the young man thought he would bring his mother a clod of earth upon which the Archbishop had been standing, and which retained the print of his foot. The old woman placed the clod of earth over her eyes, and her sight was instantly restored.[1] The labours of Baldwin were crowned by an heroic end. He went to the Holy Land shortly before King Richard I., distinguished himself by conspicuous bravery before the walls of Acre, and died soon afterwards, a victim to his devotion, under the banner of the Cross which he had so valiantly unfurled.

It does not belong to our present history to relate how King Richard prolonged his preparations until the month of July, 1190, nor how he was still detained for

[1] These details are taken from the curious account of the preaching of Baldwin, embodied by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, pt. i. ch. xi. Cf. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. ii.; *Pièces Justificatives*, n. 16. As Giraldus prefaces this story with the account of a small miracle worked by himself on the same occasion, his evidence must be received with a certain amount of caution. Giraldus was not a bad man, but he was not quite the sort of person whom one expects to find working miracles.—[ED.]

a long time in the island of Sicily, where he had rather a fierce encounter with King Tancred. But there are two facts belonging to this period of his life which may be noticed here as throwing light upon the more religious side of Richard's character. One was the confirmation of the annuity bequeathed by his father to the Carthusians.[1] The deed of confirmation (which is dated Rouen, March 18th, 1190) shows that Richard, in the midst of his preparations for war, did not forget the power of prayer, and desired to obtain the blessing of Heaven upon his enterprise. It seems very probable that this kindly act of justice was prompted by consideration for St. Hugh, if not done directly at his request.

The other fact which deserves mention was the public confession of Richard, during his stay in Sicily. It would seem that one day Divine grace penetrated the heart of the warrior-King, and that he saw for the first time all the enormity of the sins of his past life. With the impulsiveness which was part of his character, he gave orders to all the Bishops who were with him at Messina, to assemble in a chapel of the palace. He then presented himself humbly before them, and kneeling down, accused himself aloud, in the presence of all, of his many crimes and offences against God. The Bishops enjoined him a penance, and for a while at least there was a change in his conduct which showed that this conversion had not been a mere pretence.[2]

In the month of June, 1191, after having conquered the island of Cyprus on his way, Richard at last joined the King of France before the walls of Acre. The French King had been waiting for the arrival of his ally to begin a new and more vigorous assault upon the town, which had so long defied capture. The two

[1] *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 93.

[2] Roger de Hoveden, vol. iii. p. 74; Baronius, *Annal.* ad an. 1190.

monarchs and their armies vied with each other in courage and determination, until the city at last surrendered, after a defence of nearly three years. During this time Acre had been the rallying-point alike for the troops of Saladin as for the multitude of champions of the Cross who had flocked thither from every country in Europe. More than a hundred skirmishes and nine pitched battles preceded the capitulation, and the conquest of Jerusalem would have then proved a comparatively easy task, if it had not been for the quarrels which arose between the two monarchs. Philip Augustus of France, who would not or could not co-operate amicably with Richard, left Palestine in haste, and returned to his own country.

The English King, being now left in sole command, remained for more than a year in the Holy Land, multiplying feats of daring and showing an insensibility to personal danger which proved him worthy of the surname by which he is known in history. After having completely crushed the army of Saladin at the Battle of Arsur, fought on September 7th, 1191, he wrote to the Abbot of Clairvaux that "for forty years the Sultan had never experienced a like disaster, and that he was now quite unable to meet the Christians in open field, but was obliged to lie in ambush, waiting for them to fall into his snares."[1] Later on, when the news came that the Mahometans had taken Jaffa, Richard hastened there with seven galleys, plunged into the surf to lead his troops to land, and forced the infidels to come out of the town and engage in combat with his small army. He fought in the centre of his knights with such fury and dauntless courage, that a brother of Saladin who was present could not contain his admiration, and in the midst of the battle sent him a gift of two splendid Arabian horses. A few days

[1] Baronius, *Annal.* ad an. 1191, nn. 17, 18.

after this, Richard, at the head of a mere handful of brave followers, attacked seven thousand horsemen, rode straight up to their chief, and cut him down with a single sword-thrust, before the eyes of his panic-stricken army.

These were the kind of exploits by which Richard of the Lion Heart acquired his great renown, not only in Europe and among Christian warriors, but also throughout the East. Half a century after his death, his name was still spoken by the Moslems with bated breath; mothers used it to their naughty children when they wished to frighten them, and horsemen cried out to their steeds when they shied at some obstacle in the road: "Dost thou then see King Richard before thee?"

But notwithstanding all this glory, the Third Crusade failed of the result for which it was organized. Jerusalem still remained in the hands of Saladin, who simply granted the Crusaders a truce for three years and free access to the Holy Sepulchre. It would be unjust to attribute this ill-success entirely to Richard; but there is no doubt that he knew better how to conquer than how to profit by his victories. There was more in him of the knight-errant than the general, and his fiery temperament provoked the hostility of many who should have been his friends and allies. But in the end, one of these adversaries threw all Richard's misdeeds into the shade by a disgraceful attack upon the person of the King of England, which caused consternation and horror throughout the whole of Europe.[1]

King Richard left Palestine on the 9th of October, 1192, with these words of final farewell on his lips:

[1] The tendency of recent historical investigations has been rather to palliate and excuse the action of Leopold and Henry VI. A good summary of the question may be found in the work of Father K. A. Kneller, S.J., *Des Richard Löwenherz deutsche Gefangenschaft.* Cf E. R. Kindt, *Gründe der Gefangenschaft Richards I. von England.*—[ED.]

"Sacred Land! I leave thee to the care of Him who is all-powerful: may He spare my life, so that I may return once more and deliver thee from the infidel yoke!" He had the misfortune to be overtaken by a terrible storm, and to be shipwrecked off the coast of Istria, between Aquilea and Venice. A short time afterwards, he fell into the hands of Duke Leopold of Austria, who had been his companion during the Crusade, and who was filled with bitter resentment for an insult which he conceived Richard had put on him. To satisfy his vengeance, the German Prince forgot the respect which was due to a brother-Sovereign, and also to the heroism of the bravest of the Crusaders. He even had the baseness to sell his royal captive for £60,000 to the Emperor Henry VI., who kept him in chains like a common criminal.[1]

Richard bore his misfortunes nobly. Even in fetters he remained every inch a King, and when brought before the Diet of Haguenau,[2] he defended himself with such manly and touching eloquence, that the Emperor

[1] The first of these two statements is hardly accurate. Duke Leopold was not to be paid this sum of 100,000 marks, or about £60,000, for surrendering his prisoner to the Emperor, but it was stipulated in the agreement between them that the Emperor was not to release the King of England without the payment of a ransom of 100,000 marks, and that half of this was to be handed over to the Archduke. Moreover, a portion of this sum was to form the dower of a princess of Brittany, Richard's niece, who was to marry the Archduke's son. The agreement is printed in Kneller, *Des Richard Löwenherz deutsche Gefangenschaft*, p. 123. Again, there seems to be some doubt as to the fact of Richard's having actually been kept in irons. Queen Eleanor, indeed, asserts it in one of her letters to the Pope—*Filium meum . . . vinculis alligatum imperatori vendidit*—and the statement is found in many English chroniclers; but there is contradictory evidence on the other side, both with regard to the Emperor and the Archduke, *e.g.*, Diceto (p. 106): *Qui licet pedes regis in compedibus non humiliaverit;* Coggeshall: *Dux regem secum honorifice deduxit;* Chron. Mailros: (*Imperator*) *reverenter servavit eum.* See Kneller, op. cit. pp. 31 and 56.—[ED.]

[2] This scene seems to have taken place at Speyer.—[ED.]

relented, ordered his irons to be struck off, and consented to negotiate for his ransom.

England had not been slow in manifesting her attachment for her unfortunate monarch. The Barons renewed their oath of allegiance; the Bishops assembled at Oxford, and sent delegates to console and assist him. Queen Eleanor demanded and obtained from Pope Celestine III. a sentence of excommunication and interdict against the Duke of Austria. And the Emperor was threatened with a similar penalty if he did not set his illustrious prisoner at liberty.

It required all these efforts, and more, to bring about the final deliverance of Richard. The ransom demanded was a hundred thousand marks, and as it was impossible for the English to collect this enormous sum at once, hostages were sent to guarantee its payment in course of time. The King, who had been a prisoner for more than a year, was set free at last, to the great joy of all the generous hearts throughout Christendom, which had been indignant at his iniquitous detention. His own faithful subjects received him rapturously when, on the 13th of March, 1194, he once more set foot upon his native land. Both his exploits and his sufferings served to surround him with a halo of glory which has never been wholly dispelled.

Towards the end of the following year, the Duke of Austria had his foot crushed by a horse, and died of the after effects of this accident, which was regarded as the manifestation of the Divine displeasure. Before his death he obtained absolution from the Pontifical excommunication, but only on condition of his setting at liberty the hostages of the King of England, and restoring the unjust ransom he had extorted from his illustrious captive.[1] The Emperor of Germany also

[1] The restitution was apparently only intended to apply to that portion of the money already paid which still remained in his hands, yet nothing

acknowledged his injustice on his death-bed, and ordered a similar restitution. Thus, under the influence of Papal authority, right triumphed and reparation was made, so far at least as to satisfy the public conscience and give a not unprofitable lesson to the other crowned heads of Europe.

of this seems ever to have been returned. On the other hand, there were 21,000 marks which had not yet been discharged by the English treasury. The hostages were the pledge for the payment of this sum, and when they were released there was of course no longer any question of handing over the money which their detention guaranteed. (See Kneller, p. 105.) Four years later, Innocent III., at the request of Richard, was still endeavouring to secure, from the heirs of the Emperor and of the Archduke, the restitution of the ransom which had been paid. (Innocent III. *Regesta*, vol. i. pp. 203—206. Migne.)—[ED.]

## CHAPTER II.

### *TROUBLES IN ENGLAND.*[1]

From the time of the departure of King Richard for Normandy, and afterwards for the Holy Land, until the end of his captivity, England was in an extremely unsettled state. In all the various disturbances which then took place, the Bishop of Lincoln seems to have exercised a beneficial influence, but in none was his independent fearlessness of character more strikingly seen than in the popular riots against the Jews which marked the beginning of the reign. We do not, it is true, possess as much information as we might desire about these occurrences, but the main fact of St. Hugh's championship of this proscribed race stands out distinctly enough.

[It seems advisable, before going further, to say something about the position of the Jews in England, and especially in Lincoln, at the time when St. Hugh befriended them. Although the Jews formed numerically a very small community, not probably amounting to more than about 2,500 souls—that is, about 1 in 700 —of the whole population of the Kingdom, their relative wealth and political importance can hardly be exaggerated.[2] One simple fact may serve to set in the strongest

[1] In the early part of this chapter the text of the French Life has not been strictly adhered to, and large additions have been made to it.—[Ed.]

[2] Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, p. 382. The population of England at large probably lay between 1,500,000 and 2,500,000. M. Paul Fabre, in an article on *Le Denier de St. Pierre* (*Mélanges G. B. de Rossi*,

light the extent to which the money of the country was in their hands. When Henry II., in 1188, exacted a tithe of movable property, he required the Jews to pay as their share, not a tenth, but a fourth of their chattels. Now, if we may trust the statement of Gervase of Canterbury, the Jews in England on this occasion were forced to pay £60,000, and the Christians only some £70,000.[1] In other words, the property in Jewish hands was rated at £240,000, and that in Christian hands at £700,000, and, justly or unjustly, the State was assuming so far as movable goods were concerned that the average possessions of two or three hundred Christians were only equivalent to the average possessions of a single Jew.

The Jews were, in fact, the bankers of the country. At a time when specie was almost unattainable, they alone were able to find the hard cash, without which even in those days all great undertakings, whether it was a question of building a cathedral or levying a war, were equally brought to a standstill. By the Kings of England the Jews were encouraged and protected. William of Newburgh, a contemporary author by no means extravagant in his anti-Jewish prejudices, says of Henry II., for instance: "He favoured more than was right a people treacherous and unfriendly to Christians, namely, Jewish usurers, because of the great advantages which he saw were to be had from their usuries; so much so that they became proud and stiff-necked against Christians, and brought many exactions upon them."[2] The curious state of the English law with regard to

1892), inclines to the higher estimate, and Dr. Liebermann, in the *English Historical Review*, while disagreeing with his reasoning, is inclined to accept the same figures.

[1] Rolls Series, i. p. 422.

[2] William of Newburgh, Rolls Series, i. p. 280.

the property of Jews must naturally have led English monarchs to treat with very tender consideration the geese which laid so many golden eggs. According to the best modern authorities, the Jews stood to the King in all matters of property precisely in the relation of the villein to his lord.[1] In strict law, what a Jew acquired he acquired, not for himself, but for his Sovereign, and although as a matter of favour and policy a Jew was not ordinarily molested in the enjoyment of his gains, it must have been pleasant for a juristically minded monarch like Henry II. to feel that these very wealthy subjects held their riches only upon sufferance, and that their money was almost as securely his, whenever he chose to apply pressure, as if it had been lodged already in the royal treasury.[2] It would seem as if the Jews were almost all traders or money-lenders. We meet but a few isolated instances of members of that community who are described as exercising the profession of physicians or scriveners. How far the charge of gross extortion so frequently made against them is justified it is not easy to say. A Jew in lending his money to a Christian most certainly exposed himself in these troublous times to no inconsiderable risk of not getting it back again. At the same time it is equally beyond question that

[1] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. pp. 451, seq It followed from this doctrine that while in some sense the Jew was the slave of the King, in relation to all other men he was free, and the law upheld him against their oppression.

[2] This doctrine explains and extenuates what might at first sight seem the gross injustice committed when the King, for some reason or other, "seized into his hands" the debts due to one of his Jews by Christian debtors and perhaps, for a consideration, generously remitted the whole. An instance of this is to be found in the charter of Richard I. to the Cistercian Abbots of Rievaulx, New Minster, &c., who owed 6,400 marks to Aaron the Jew, and obtained from the King a condonation of the whole in exchange for 1,000 marks. (*Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, Surtees Society, ii. p. 18.)

the rate of interest exacted was enormous. Twopence a week per pound, *i.e.*, forty-three per cent. per annum, was very common, even where good security was given, and we hear elsewhere of fourpence a week, *i.e.*, eighty-six per cent.[1] The result was that nearly all the barons and knights and men of any little consideration who wanted to conduct a lawsuit or build a castle or go upon a Crusade, found themselves in less than no time head over ears in debt. It was probably the angry chafing of the upper classes against this sort of bondage, brought to a head by the imperative need of raising money for the Crusade, which had most to do with the outbreak against the Jews in the first year of Richard's reign. The populace, however, in a certain spirit of loyalty to the Faith which seemed to them to involve the hatred of the whole race of those who had put our Lord to death, a spirit heightened by the Crusading ardour of the time as well as by many gruesome stories of the murder of Christian children,[2] formed a ready instrument in the hands of any designing person who had sufficient fanaticism or malice to fan this smouldering hatred into a flame.

In Lincoln, the Jewish community both for wealth and numbers was the most prosperous in England, with the single exception of London. To judge by what appears a very fair test—the names of Jews entered

[1] Cf. Jacobs, *Jews in Angevin England*, p. 308, and Round, *Ancient Charters*, Pipe Roll Society, p. 82.

[2] Little St. William of Norwich († 1144), the recently discovered narrative of whose martyrdom, as told by Thomas of Monmouth, has been published by Dr. Jessop and Mr. James, was the earliest in date of the long series of boy martyrs who were believed to have been sacrificed by the Jews. A second English example, also prior to the accession of King Richard, was that of little Robert of Bury-St.-Edmunds in 1181. Another well-known instance is that of St. Richard of Pontoise in 1179, the *cultus* of whom we know on contemporary authority to have begun in Paris within a year of his death. For some remarks on these alleged martyrdoms, see note at the end of the chapter.

in the Pipe Rolls—we have as many as 82 heads of families from Lincoln, paying their contributions into the Treasury, as compared with 110 in London; while the town which stands next highest on the list is Norwich, with only 42.[1] Jewish traditions, in fact, are still strong in Lincoln. The Jewish quarter, known as the Dernestall, was on the southern slope of the hill crowned by the Cathedral, and close under the Castle and the Bishop's palace. The narrow passage by which this Jewry opened upon the High Street still exists. It is called the "Strait," and at the mouth of the Strait stood the Dernestall Lock, where in old times a gate was locked at night,[2] to confine the detested Jews within their own narrow limits. Hereabouts it was that, fifty years after the death of Bishop St. Hugh, a little namesake of his was found murdered—martyred, as it was believed, in hatred of Christianity.

> O yonge Hugh of Lincoln slayn also
> With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,
> For it nis but a litel whyle ago,
> Pray eek for us, we sinful folk unstable
> That of his mercy God so merciable
> On us his grete mercy multiplye
> For reverence of his moder Marye. Amen.[3]

The bones of little St. Hugh still lie in the south aisle of the Cathedral, and when they were discovered and examined at the end of the last century, the Protestant antiquaries, who published a report of the discovery, thought that on one of the metatarsal bones of the feet could be detected the traces of the nails with which he was crucified.[4] Two of the houses are still standing which were occupied by Jews when our Bishop Hugh first came to be enthroned in his

[1] Jacobs, *The Jews in Angevin England*, p. 382.
[2] Venables, *Walks through the Streets of Lincoln*, p. 28.
[3] Chaucer, *The Prioress' Tale.*
[4] See Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii. p. lxviii.

Cathedral. They are amongst the oldest specimens of domestic architecture in England, and one of them was the dwelling of the most famous Jew of that age, the great Aaron of Lincoln. His financial operations were on a gigantic scale. Even the proud Abbey of St. Albans, like many another religious house, was so deeply in his debt that Aaron came there one day and roughly told the monks that the very shrines of their saints had been built by him, and that he could sell them up if he pleased. He died about twelve months after St. Hugh was consecrated to his episcopal see; but we are told of Aaron's son, who inherited in great part his father's wealth, that he was free to come and go in the Gilbertine Priory of Bullington, just as if it belonged to him—which indeed it almost did.[1]]

The outbreak against the Jews began in London, only a few hours after the coronation of King Richard, who had forbidden them to appear in his presence on that day. Several individuals amongst them, in defiance, or more probably in ignorance, of this prohibition, made their way into the palace.[2] They were recognized by the crowd, who drove them out, pursued them, and slaughtered them without mercy. A false report was spread that the King had authorized these murders, whereupon a massacre began which continued until the

[1] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii. p. 188. The same Elias, the son of "Aaron the rich," in 1208 paid 200 marks into the Treasury to have license to secure payment on 400 charters drawn up by his father in his lifetime, and a further sum of 200 marks to obtain possession of 40 other charters. Even though we multiply these sums by 30 or 40, as we should have to do to obtain any idea of their equivalent value at the present day, we should still be far from realizing the influence implied by this, in those days, extraordinary command of ready money.

[2] This prohibition seems to have had its origin in the fear of some magic spell which the Jews might cast upon the newly-crowned King. This is suggested by Matthew Paris, and the language of Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn, a Jewish chronicler who gives a brief account of the massacre, points to the same conclusion.

streets of London ran with blood, and which was only put a stop to at last by the officers of the Crown. The houses of many Jews were burnt, and the riot was not suppressed until the next morning. Richard hastened to issue a proclamation, in which he took the Jews under his protection, and forbade all violence against their persons or possessions. But a few months later, when he was safe out of the kingdom, other similar disturbances took place in different parts of the country, culminating in a very deplorable outrage at York. It is sad to find that in several cases the riots seem to have been instigated by those who were about to take part in the Crusade. Most assuredly the cause of the Master whom they professed to serve was not to be furthered by such brutal deeds as these. Far from approving or tolerating these outbreaks of popular hatred, the Church, speaking by the voice of her Sovereign Pontiffs and her most illustrious prelates, had always extended some measure of protection to the Jews. It is true that she had taken many precautions which to us may seem excessive against their obtaining undue influence. She had closed the door of public offices and appointments against them, as much as possible; but while thus endeavouring to prevent them from doing harm to her own children, she severely condemned the outrages attempted by the rapacious or the fanatical against their lives and property. The children of Israel themselves have praised the toleration extended to them, and they have more than once expressed in earnest terms their gratitude to various Popes or to individual members of the Hierarchy.

At the time of the two first Crusades, the Church had already had occasion to reprove the blind excesses of the populace, who at the instigation of a few fanatical ringleaders, had singled out the Jews for attack.

"What then!" exclaimed St. Bernard, in reproof of one of these firebrands; "does not the Church triumph far more effectively over the Jews, by gentle persuasion and the force of truth, than by the sword of persecution? Is it in vain that she calls upon the Lord our God, by incessant prayer, to take away the veil from their eyes, and show them the light of His faith? There would be no meaning in the prayers of the Church if she were to despair of the ultimate conversion of the unbelievers for whom she prays. She continues her prayers in hope, trusting in the mercy of Him who returns good for evil, and love for hatred. What says Holy Scripture? 'Slay them not.'[1] And again: 'And so all Israel shall be saved, as it is written: There shall come out of Sion He that shall deliver, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.'"[2]

The letter in which the great Abbot of Clairvaux thus expresses the mind of the Church towards the people of Israel, was addressed to Henry, Archbishop of Mainz, who had distinguished himself by his brave defence of the proscribed outcasts. He received many of them into his house, and used every effort in his power to save them from death.

When troubles of the same kind arose in England, similar generosity and charity were displayed. St. Hugh of Lincoln needed no one to remind him what his duty was in such circumstances, and no power on earth could prevent him from following the course which he believed to be right.

It was at Stamford, on the 5th of March, 1190, that the attacks on the Jews began, in his diocese. A fair was being held in the town, and great crowds of people had assembled. A number of young Crusaders who

[1] Romans xi. 26.

[2] *History of St. Bernard*, letter v. ch. iii. By Père Ratisbonne; St. Bernard, Epistol. 365.

were about to sail for Palestine had gathered there from different parts of the country. "They were indignant," says the chronicler, "that the enemies of the Cross of Christ should possess so much, when they had not enough for the expenses of their journey."[1] Accordingly, in the midst of the crowd and confusion of the fair, these young men flung themselves upon the Jewish quarter, killed many of the inhabitants, and plundered their houses, getting away safely with their booty. The news of these riotous proceedings was soon carried to Lincoln; the whole city was greatly agitated, and a conspiracy was formed to follow the example already given by Stamford. The mob assembled, and the rising took place; but, fortunately, little harm was done. The Jews were warned in time, and most of them took refuge, with their treasures, in the royal castle. There seems reason to believe that to the Bishop of Lincoln belongs the chief credit of putting a stop to this state of excitement, which might have resulted, as it did later on at York, in the siege of the citadel, and in a terrible amount of bloodshed.[2]

We will here give an account of what took place, in the words of the chaplain and biographer of the Saint:[3] "Let us now speak of his courage, when the

[1] William of Newburgh, vol. i. p. 310.

[2] See William of Newburgh, *Hist. Rer. Anglic.* vol. i. pp. 310—322. That the Lincoln Jews did not entirely escape in the outbreak directed against them, seems to be clear from the fact that a list of eighty names of Lincoln burghers is to be found in the Pipe Rolls of 3 Rich. I., who were to be amerced for the disturbances. Further reference is made to these amerciaments in 6 Rich. I. (See *Archæological Review*, vol. ii. pp. 406, seq. nn. 117 and 142.) Moreover, William of Newburgh distinctly states "that much investigation was carried on by the royal officials"—a mark of exceptional zeal for justice, in which we may perhaps trace the hand of St. Hugh.—[ED.]

[3] The author of the French Life is proceeding here upon the assumption that the description of St. Hugh's intrepid bearing quoted above from the *Magna Vita*, most probably refers to the time of the popular outbreak against the Jews. It should be noticed that St. Hugh's chaplain does not

lawlessness of proud subjects had to be put down, and of the daring bravery with which he threw himself, unarmed, into the midst of a furious crowd of mail-clad warriors. In his own Cathedral of Lincoln, first of all, then in the district of Holland, and afterwards at Northampton, he stood, bare-headed and undaunted, in the midst of a forest of swords brandished by angry men. And even this is less than the truth. He did not merely stand proudly erect, but striding hither and thither amongst them, his fiery words flashed out in entire recklessness of the consequences, for he wielded

anywhere state this. He only says that the Bishop's intrepidity in the face of a hostile mob was manifested especially on three occasions: first at Lincoln, in the Cathedral, and afterwards in Holland (a district of Lincolnshire), and at Northampton; and he adds rather provokingly that he could say a good deal about the causes of these riots, but that the story might prove tedious. The Jews are not mentioned in this chapter, and the only allusion made to them in the *Magna Vita* is a reference to the grief which they displayed at St. Hugh's death. None the less, I think that our author is right in believing that these three signal instances of the Saint's personal courage were probably all connected in some way with his championship of the persecuted Jews. We know from William of Newburgh that notable outbreaks took place at Stamford, at Lincoln, and at Northampton; and Stamford, while it is not situated in the district now called Holland, is close upon the outskirts of that rather vaguely defined tract of country. Moreover, William of Newburgh expressly tells us that it was St. Hugh who put a stop to the *cultus* of the pretended martyr at Northampton, and this was obviously an act which, at such a time of fanatical excitement, was bound to provoke resentment on the part of those interested in exploiting anti-Jewish prejudice. Lastly, I think we may find an explanation of the reticence of St. Hugh's chaplain, and of his reluctance to exhibit his hero as a protector of the Jews, in the fact that just about the time that the *Magna Vita* was given to the world a reaction was setting in against the favour shown to them during the minority of Henry III. "Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, published a general prohibition by which all persons were forbidden to buy anything of the Jews, or to sell them victuals or necessaries, or to have any communication with them, declaring that they were persons who by the laws of the Church were excommunicated for their infidelity and usury." (Margoliouth, *History of the Jews in Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 138.) —[ED.]

the sword of spiritual censures against these furious plotters, and delivered the contumacious among them over to Satan, 'for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.'[1] His courage was all the more admirable, because many of his attendants, who were sufficiently brave at other times, gave way to terror. They were not content with flying to the altars for protection, but they hardly thought themselves safe when they were actually hiding under the table of the Lord itself.[2] Hugh remained alone, and continued to lash with his indignant words the ruffians who had drawn their swords upon him. Thanks to this determined courage, to the protection of the holy angels, and to the Divine armour which clothed him, the rioters gave way, cowed and irresolute. At Lincoln it was a mob of clerics and laymen, in Holland a band of armed knights, at Northampton the angry townsfolk; but all alike yielded, violent and furious as they were, before the calm intrepidity of this one pastor of souls." "Even at the risk of his life," adds the biographer a little later, "this disciple of the Good Shepherd would not allow his flock to stray from the right path without lifting up his voice to recall them."[3]

We may be inclined to wonder why the Cathedral of Lincoln should have become the scene of such a tumult. It is probable that the Jews had deposited there, as in the safest place they knew of, the deeds connected with their loans and mortgages. This is

[1] 1 Cor. v. 5.

[2] This passage is interesting for its bearing upon the disputed question of the shape of English mediæval altars. It is quite clear that the altars of Lincoln Cathedral in the twelfth century cannot all have been solid blocks of masonry. Some of them must have been table-shaped—*tisch-förmigen*, to enable the attendants of St. Hugh to creep in under the altar-slab. (See *The Month*, February and March, 1897.)—[ED.]

[3] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 4.

what they had done in the case of York Minster, but there the guardians of the Cathedral were compelled by the mob to give up all these papers, and allow a huge bonfire to be made of them in the very nave of the church itself.[1] If the rioters had the intention of doing the same at Lincoln, the intervention and the attitude of St. Hugh are sufficiently explained.[2]

At Holland, which is a district in the county of Lincoln, it was a band of knights and squires—*milites et armigeri*—who troubled the public peace;[3] and there St. Hugh was not without a valiant protector, for his cousin, William of Avalon, a brave and honourable gentleman, was in his company, and observing that one furious rioter was aiming a blow at the Bishop, he wrested the sword from his hand, and was about

[1] "But when the slaughter was over, the conspirators immediately went to the Cathedral and caused the terrified guardians, with violent threats, to hand over the records of the debts placed there, by which the Christians were oppressed by the royal Jewish usurers, and thereupon destroyed these records of profane avarice in the middle of the church with the sacred fires, to release both themselves and many others. Which being done, those of the conspirators who had taken the Cross went on their proposed journey before any inquest, but the rest remained in the country for fear of an inquiry." (William of Newburgh, i. p. 322.) This story indicates very clearly how largely the outbreak against the Jews was due to the desire of the nobles and knights who owed them money to shake themselves free from this encumbrance and to destroy the record of their debts.—[Ed.]

[2] This suggestion seems the more probable from the fact that in the reign of John we find a mandate in the Close Rolls, addressed to St. Hugh's successor, William of Blois, and ordering him not to permit the property of the Jews to be deposited in the Cathedral (Feb. 28, 1205). (See Jacobs, *Jews in Angevin England*, p. 237.)—[Ed.]

[3] I must own that there is much to suggest that this disturbance in Holland should be identified not with an anti-Jewish riot, but with the violent dispute between the Monasteries of Croyland and Spalding (Hollandenses), of which such an interesting account is preserved in the *Historia Croylandensis*. The prominence of the knights in this riot is especially noted (Gale, pp. 453, 454). We can well believe that in such an unseemly feud between two religious houses, St. Hugh would have interposed in the cause of peace, but there is no mention of any interference on his part in the Croyland Chronicle.—[Ed.]

to execute summary vengeance when Hugh interceded for his would-be murderer. He had no wish to see any blood shed in his defence, and contented himself with making use of the spiritual sword of the censures of the Church. St. Hugh, however, considered these canonical weapons to be more than a match for any physical violence. His voice, so his chaplain tells us, in threatening such penalties was simply awe-inspiring, and he expatiated with supreme contempt upon the powerlessness of sword or coat of mail to stand against the spiritual blows with which he who spoke in the name of the Church could smite body and soul, alike in this world and the world to come.

The riot at Northampton, which occurred a short time after the two we have been speaking of, was also connected with the Jews. With regard to this, more precise details have happily come down to us. Immediately after the disturbance at Stamford, one of the rioters named John, who had gathered an immense amount of plunder from the houses of the Jews, made off to Northampton with his booty. Being as reckless as he was unprincipled, the young man there entrusted part of his money to another scoundrel who, tempted by the sight of the gold, killed him secretly to obtain possession of the whole of it, and threw his body outside the walls of the town during the night. In the morning the corpse was discovered and recognized, but the murderer had taken flight, and was not even suspected. Naturally the imagination of the populace, being very much excited by the crime, immediately attributed it to the Jews, and the dead man soon came to be considered as a martyr who had fallen a victim to the hate of this detested race. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage, and was frequented by many mistaken devotees. Several miracles were reported to have taken place, and votive offerings were showered

upon the sepulchre of this worthless incendiary, who had met the just reward of his crimes. The inhabitants of the town, deriving great pecuniary benefits from the new place of pilgrimage, were deaf to all representations and remonstrances. In the end, however, the affair came to the ears of the Bishop of Lincoln, and he was not long in arriving at a decision. He set out at once for Northampton, to put a stop to the scandal. There he met with lively resistance from the disappointed townspeople, but it was only another occasion for the display of his usual courage. He went straight to the tomb of the pretended martyr, tore down the votive offerings which adorned it, and forbade, under pain of excommunication, that any further *cultus* should henceforth be rendered to one so utterly unworthy of it. His words were listened to and obeyed; the superstition died out, to the consolation of right thinking men and to the relief of the unhappy Jews, who were certain of having to suffer sooner or later in the cause of the pretended martyr. It was, no doubt, the remembrance of this, and other instances of St. Hugh's impartial justice, which led the sons of Israel to give public testimony of their sorrow at the funeral of this blessed Saint. Certainly he had no desire of ingratiating himself with them, or of excusing their real misdeeds. He simply obeyed the voice of conscience in thus repressing popular violence, and the traditions of the Church, which has always been careful to protect the lives of the Jews, while resisting their real or fancied efforts at proselytism, must have influenced him strongly on the same side.

Troubles of another kind exposed St. Hugh to less danger, but caused him still greater anxiety. Instead of seeing his path clearly marked out for him, he had to steer his way as well as he could through the countless political intrigues in which this reign was so

prolific. We cannot doubt that he must have gone through many of those hours of mental suffering in which it is far more difficult to see where duty lies than to carry it into execution.

A short time after it had served as a refuge for the Jews, the strong Castle of Lincoln was besieged by the troops of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of the realm,[1] whom King Richard had invested with the fullest powers to govern England during his absence on the Crusade. The Governor of the fortress, Gerard of Camville, had refused to give up the keys to the Chancellor, and appealed for protection to Prince John, the King's brother. This was the signal for a final rupture between the two persons of highest rank and position in the country. But nothing can be more intricate or obscure than the different accounts of these political factions. After reading the various historians who have treated of this subject, it is impossible to form any certain judgment upon the conduct of the Chancellor. If he had the greater number of the Bishops and Barons of England arrayed against him, he was not without some illustrious supporters. Peter of Blois warmly took his part, and when the dispute was referred to Rome, the cause of the Bishop of Ely found favour in the eyes of Pope Celestine III., who had previously re-appointed him Legate of the Holy See.[2] Notwithstanding this, the Chancellor was driven out of the kingdom by Prince John, as the result of an assembly of nobles and prelates which he had succeeded in gathering together. The Bishop of Lincoln was present at this assembly,

[1] The Chancellor seems to have made two attempts upon Lincoln Castle, one in the spring, the other after midsummer, 1191. (See Stubbs' note to Hoveden, vol. iii. p. 135.)—[ED.]

[2] There is no evidence of such re-appointment, except the fact that in the letter of December 2nd to the English Bishops, Celestine describes him as Legate. (See Stubbs, *Epp. Cantuar.* p. cxxxiii. note.)—[ED.]

but his attitude was so upright and impartial, that the Chancellor always preserved a great confidence in him. This was very clearly shown when Pope Celestine III., on the 2nd of December, 1191, wrote a letter to the Bishops of England, commanding them to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the persecutors of his Legate. The Chancellor then addressed himself to St. Hugh, to make sure of the Pope's instructions being carried out with firmness and discretion.

In the letter he then wrote, William of Longchamp compliments the holy Bishop on his reputation for courage, and goes on to say that "he leaves the care of the interests of the Church of God, and those of our lord the King," with great confidence in his hands. He adds that he has no doubt that "his charity will devote itself, with the single-mindedness worthy of a true Bishop, to carry out the instructions issued by the Holy See and the Legate its representative."

The Chancellor wrote to other Bishops to secure the same result, but St. Hugh and all the rest seem to have thought that no action could then be taken. The Saint's tardiness, however, and the caution he showed at this critical period, were far from bringing him into disgrace at Rome. On the contrary, the Holy See took the first opportunity, as we shall see later on, of giving proof of the great confidence which Hugh's conduct had inspired.

The Sovereign Pontiff at that time had a project in hand which St. Hugh was just the sort of man to sympathize with. He wished to establish peace between all Christian nations, that they might concentrate their energies upon the overthrow of Islam. When he heard that King Richard had set out for the Holy Land, he wrote an urgent letter to the Bishops of England, recommending them to preach concord, and to direct against the enemies of the Faith in the East

that warlike ardour which was so dangerous to the tranquillity of Church and State at home, or, at best, was so unprofitably squandered upon jousts and tournaments. Unfortunately, it was a hopeless task to try to make men superior to the miserable interests of party, in order to enlist their energies in a cause so exalted as that of the union of Christendom against the common foe.

In the meantime, at the news of the captivity of Richard, the internal dissensions of parties in England assumed a new phase. While John began to lift the mask, and was no longer ashamed to seek the assistance of Philip Augustus in usurping his brother's throne, those who had hitherto rallied to his side as the cause of law and order, now withdrew their support and became his avowed and active opponents. The release of Cœur de Leon, which took place shortly afterwards, put an end to these disturbances; but for the Bishop of Lincoln the return of the King was only the beginning of fresh trials.

## Note to Book III. Chapter II.

The alleged martyrdom by the Jews of such Christian children as little Hugh of Lincoln, William of Norwich, Robert of Bury, &c., to which reference has been made in the course of this chapter, remains a problem still despite the many attempts to unravel it which have been made of late years.[1] It may

[1] Cf. Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, edited by Jessop and James; *Little St. Hugh of Lincoln*, by Joseph Jacobs, reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle; El Santo Niño*, by Father Fita, S.J., in the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. xi. (1887); articles in the *Revue des Etudes Juives, e.g.* by J. Loeb, vol. xv.; H. C. Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, p. 437; Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube;* Baring Gould, *Beliefs of the Middle Ages;* and many more.

readily be admitted that no satisfactory evidence has yet been produced to show that such sacrifices form any part of Jewish ritual. Judaism as a system can certainly not be held responsible for these outrages. None the less, it is very difficult to waive away the evidence of some Jewish complicity in such murders by declaring them all to be the fabrication of popular prejudice. The children were certainly murdered by somebody, legal investigations were held, testimony was given by Jews themselves, sometimes apparently without threat of torture. Many writers who are evidently free from any suspicion of anti-semitic prejudice, own themselves staggered by the perplexities of the problem. "Personally," says a reviewer of Messrs. James and Jessop's volume on St. William of Norwich, "we have no faith in these stories, but if any one should ask how it is possible for educated men of the present age to believe them, we may refer him to an article in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for February, 1893, entitled *La Morale Giudaica e il Mistero del Sangue*, which undoubtedly demonstrates that such stories, whatever we think of them, are not always malicious lies nor even the rumours of ignorance and superstition, but sometimes rest upon evidence not intrinsically beneath contempt." (*The Academy*, February 27th, 1897). Again, Dr. Jessop and Mr. James themselves, while rejecting the story of a deliberate ritual sacrifice, think it possible that the boy (St. William) may have been done to death by a reckless or fanatic Jew. As a reviewer of the same work in the *Athenæum* remarks: "One point might fairly be made; the Church was not to blame, nor was the persecution religious." (April 30th, 1897.) I am inclined myself to adopt a suggestion made in the same review in the *Academy*, from which I have just been quoting, to the effect that the use of human blood taken from some innocent victim, really did

enter into the magic spells of the professors of the black art.[1] Sorcery was practised amongst the Jews as it was practised among Christians, and if Christian writers can be trusted, a great deal more so. It is quite possible that some individual Jewish sorcerers may at all periods have combined this very evil magic with their religious beliefs. "Since the *practice* of sorcery was a fact," says the reviewer in the *Academy*, "it may well be that some cases of 'ritual murder' upon the part of the Jews mingling magic with their Judaism did positively happen."

It may be noted that the Holy See has never formally canonized any of these alleged victims of Jewish malignity,[2] and neither little St. Hugh nor any of the other children mentioned above, are even commemorated in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. On the other hand, many letters have been issued by various Popes to check the cruelty with which the Jews were persecuted. These instructions provided that the Jews were not to be forced to receive Baptism against their will, that they were not to be molested in person or property without the judgment of a court of law, and that their cemeteries should not be violated. See Jaffe-Löwenfeld, *Regesta Pontificum*, especially nn. 13973 and 16577, and Potthast, n. 834.

Our Carthusian author seems to have exercised a wise discretion in dismissing very summarily the intricate political complications which centre round the career of the Chancellor, William Longchamp. Even after all the patient investigation which has been

[1] This belief is as old as the time of St. John Chrysostom, who more than once refers to the magicians who are said to decoy children to their houses and cut their throats: ὅταν πολλοὶ τῶν γοήτων παῖδας λαβόντες ἀποσφάττωσιν. (*In Matt.* Hom. 28. Migne, *P.G.* vol. 57, p. 353. Cf. Hom. II. *de Lazaro.* Migne, *P.G.* vol. 48, p. 983.)

[2] Benedict XIV. *De Beatif.* &c., bk. i. c. 14, n. 5, and bk. iii. c. 15, nn. 2—7.

devoted to the subject by Sir Francis Palgrave and Bishop Stubbs, there are many points in the disturbed politics of the years 1190—1194 which are still very obscure. The Bishop of Lincoln's relations with the Chancellor were in no way intimate, and a detailed account of the latter's proceedings is not required to illustrate the history of our Saint. On the whole it would seem that Hugh did his best to avoid active participation in the disputes between the Chancellor and Prince John. It is noteworthy that in the final agreement which followed the siege of Lincoln Castle we do not find the Bishop of Lincoln's name among the witnesses. He was present at the general assembly summoned to meet near Reading, which ended in the deposition of Longchamp, but the very manner in which Giraldus refers to his presence there, insinuates that St. Hugh had not uniformly been acting with them and that the party of Prince John were very pleased to have his support.[1] We may be quite sure that St. Hugh would have been reluctant to connect himself in any way with the malignant libel against the Chancellor, which was shortly afterwards published by Hugh de Nonant,[2] and the fact that Longchamp appealed to Hugh to execute the Papal Bull, which was practically the condemnation of the Reading assembly, shows the high idea which he had of the Saint's impartiality and singleness of purpose. It is satisfactory to find that Bishop Stubbs strongly insists upon the unfounded character of the grosser charges brought by Giraldus and Hugh de Nonant against Longchamp. "It is," he says, "simply impossible that such a man as Giraldus describes, should have been tolerated in an age and

[1] Giraldus, *Vita Galfridi; Opera*, vol. iv. p. 397. Hugh went on to London, and was one of the Bishops who interviewed Longchamp in the Tower. He had also previously excommunicated the Chancellor and his abettors for his treatment of Archbishop Geoffrey. (*Ibid.* p. 405.)

[2] Hoveden, iii. pp. 141, seq.

country in which St. Hugh of Lincoln was religiously all-powerful. St. Hugh does not seem to have liked the Chancellor's policy; their political principles were opposed, and the Saint took part in the proceedings against Longchamp in defence of Archbishop Geoffrey, but their personal relations were not unkind, and the Chancellor seems to have trusted implicitly in the Bishop's good-will. The man who would not tolerate the bones of Fair Rosamond within the choir of Godstow, would not have hesitated to denounce a profligate in the sacred offices of legate and bishop."[1] —[ED.]

[1] Stubbs, *Preface to Hoveden*, vol. iii. p. xlii.

## CHAPTER III.

### *THE FIRST CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE BISHOP AND THE KING.*

The great anxiety of King Richard, on his return to England, was to obtain large sums of money, in order to pay what remained to be paid of his ransom, and also to defray the cost of a war against the King of France. He knew that his kingdom had already suffered much from the enormous demands that had been made on the public purse, both before the Crusade and during his captivity. But he reckoned upon the popularity he had acquired by his feats of arms and his misfortunes. New taxes were levied upon the people, in a desperate effort to raise the sum that was needed, often at the sacrifice of all honour and principle. His courtiers, instead of protesting against these unjust measures, only suggested new and equally unscrupulous ways of filling his coffers. They were glad, therefore, just at this juncture to discover a means of despoiling the Bishop of Lincoln, and the fact that they knew him to be incapable of any concession contrary to his conscience, probably only added zest to the extortion.

It was suddenly remembered that a custom had been allowed to fall into disuse which had been observed in an irregular way by several of St. Hugh's predecessors. These prelates, with rather short-sighted generosity, had made an offering to their Sovereign, from time to time, which came to be regarded as an annual tribute. It consisted of a magnificent mantle,

worth a hundred silver marks, lined and trimmed with sable fur.

St. Hugh was now accused of not having paid this tribute, and he was held responsible, not only for the arrears during his own episcopate, but for the time which had elapsed since the accession of his immediate predecessor, Walter of Coutances, who had also neglected to discharge this alleged feudal service. It was further pretended that he must make compensation to his liege lord for the affront offered to the King by his neglect. Altogether it came to this, that the Bishop of Lincoln was to be forced to pay a very large sum of ready money, and he was sent for to Court, where the King urged upon him the offering of the customary tribute, and suggested that he should make a collection in his diocese for that purpose, adding, "You will gain more by doing so than I shall;" meaning that the Bishop's popularity would secure a generous response, and that he would be able to enrich himself with what was left over after the King's tribute had been paid.[1]

[1] It must not be supposed that this proceeding would have been considered so outrageously unprincipled in that day as it would rightly be regarded in our own. All taxation, both secular and ecclesiastical, was systematically "farmed." The sheriff, or other official, undertook to pay into the Exchequer a certain sum at which the proceeds of the tax were estimated, and he kept for himself all that it could be made to yield over and above. In no matter was this abuse more conspicuous than in the collection of Peter's Pence, or "Romescot," as it was called even in Papal documents. It is stated that the Archbishop of York, who was rated at £11 10s., and who accounted for that sum and not a penny more to the Papal Treasury, raised from his diocese as much as £118 under this title, and retained the balance for his own use. Innocent III. complained that the English Bishops only sent to Rome 300 marks for Romescot, and kept back as much as 1,000 marks. (See P. Fabre, "Recherches sur le Denier de St. Pierre en Angleterre," in *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi*, 1892.) If these things are true, and there is every reason to believe that they are not greatly exaggerated, one can understand that there may have been some excuse for the apparently unreasonable demands for money made by the Pope in the thirteenth century.—[ED.]

A more mercenary man might perhaps have entertained such an idea, but Hugh was a true shepherd, ready to lay down his very life for his flock, and still more resolved never to oppress his people or suffer them, under any pretext, to be unjustly despoiled. Therefore, as usual, he did not think of his own interest, but only of his duty to his diocese. The question was not quite such a simple one in those days as it may appear to us now, for there were certain feudal rights, in virtue of which Bishops who held land under the Crown could be called upon for contributions, as well as the laity. Hugh, however, had studied the matter in all its bearings, and while he did not wish to refuse anything that was just, he was determined to oppose any fresh extortions, and to maintain intact the privileges of his see.

This particular tribute of the royal mantle was in his eyes an exorbitant demand, contrary to the dignity and liberty of his Church, and an affront to the august Virgin who was its patroness. Come what might, he was determined to deliver himself and his successors, once for all, from this intolerable burden. But he proceeded with caution, so as not to offend those whose opinions on feudal rights were different from his own. To remove any pretext for fresh claims and lawsuits in the future, he consented to an arrangement by which he was to pay the King, in discharge of all obligations, a sum of three thousand silver marks. In return for this the King gave him a deed of acquittance, which was duly signed at Le Mans, on the 23rd of June, 1194.[1]

[1] This business of the furred mantle is mentioned both by Hoveden (vol. iii. p. 303) and by Giraldus (vol. i. p. 267 and vol. vii. pp. 33, 41, and 108), as also by John de Schalby. There are slight discrepancies between the different accounts. The *Magna Vita* says it was worth a hundred marks, Giraldus a hundred pounds. Hoveden declares that 1,000 marks only were paid to the King to purchase the release from future claims—he

While Richard was congratulating himself upon this result—a settlement not very creditable either to him or to his advisers—St. Hugh was wondering where he was to find the large sum of money which he had undertaken to pay into the Royal Exchequer. He had no savings to fall back upon, for every year he spent all his income. All that was not actually necessary for his own use was devoted to good works, and, far from saving any money, he was often obliged to borrow. Should he appeal to the generosity of his clergy, who were no less interested than himself in the suppression of the odious tribute? He might have done this, without incurring the reproach of oppressing his flock. And indeed such an appeal, which left the contribution quite optional, would have put no constraint upon the freedom of any individual priest. But the holy Bishop was not willing to do even this; he feared to be a burden to his clergy, or to take advantage of his personal influence to sway their decision. But there was another idea which occurred to his mind, and which proved much more tempting. He took a resolution to leave his diocese for a time, in order to retire to his beloved Witham, where it was next to impossible for him to spend any money at all. He calculated that

may not, however, be taking any account of the arrears; the *Magna Vita* says 3,000 marks in all. A much greater difficulty is caused by the date. Hoveden assigns it to the year 1195, and apparently late in the year. Giraldus, in a letter (vol. i. p. 266) to which reference will be further made in a note to bk. iii. ch. iv., gives details which seem to fix the final settlement of this trouble quite positively within the month of October, 1194 (*i.e.*, after the feast of St. Michael and before that of All Saints). And yet in the *Registrum Antiquissimum*, preserved among the archives of the Dean and Chapter at Lincoln, is a copy of Richard's charter of release dated Le Mans, June 23rd, 1194! It is at least a curious illustration of the caution which should be shown in rejecting historic facts merely on the ground of a conflict of evidence. On the whole, it seems easier to believe that an error has been made in the date in copying the charter into the Register, than that Giraldus can be wrong in such a circumstantial statement.—[ED.]

the saving effected by this reduced expenditure would soon realize the sum he needed, while he was delighted at the thought of the long period of solitude which he would thus be able to enjoy. As soon, however, as his project became known, his clergy unanimously opposed it. They protested against this unusual absence, and did all in their power to divert their good Bishop from his purpose. They did more than this: they arrived at an understanding amongst themselves, and offered to contribute, each one according to his means, to effect the deliverance of the diocese. Coming to their Bishop, whom they looked upon as a father and protector, they begged him to accept this proposition, and not to deprive them of his presence. Neither the entreaties of his sons nor the advice of his friends could make Hugh feel quite at ease in doing as they bid him. But as he was unable to withstand the pressure of public opinion, he took pains to secure that the contribution proposed should be perfectly voluntary. He expressly commanded that no one was to be asked for anything, and that all who gave should give of their own free-will. He took as much from his own revenues as he could spare, in order to terminate more quickly this good work of reparation, in which he had the happiness of seeing all his clergy take part. Their generosity was not unworthy of the disinterestedness and public spirit displayed by their Bishop.

Some months after the conclusion of this affair, another dispute arose between St. Hugh and the King of England, on the occasion of the death of Godfrey, Abbot of Eynsham, who had held that post for forty-four years, that is to say, ever since the reign of Stephen, the predecessor of Henry II. As soon as St. Hugh received the news of his death, in the year 1195, he sent one of his clergy to take charge of the abbey and its possessions, in union with the community,

until the canonical election of a new Abbot could take place. In doing this he was exercising a right of patronage which undoubtedly belonged to him, for it had been solemnly recognized, a century before, by William the Conqueror, when Remigius, the first occupant of the see of Lincoln, had restored and repopulated the Abbey of Eynsham after its destruction in the preceding war. A royal charter had expressly declared that the patronage of this abbey belonged exclusively henceforth to the Bishop of Lincoln and his successors.

In spite of this authority, the adversaries of St. Hugh took advantage of the long interruption in the exercise of this right which had accidentally occurred, and tried to secure it for the Crown. Richard was then in France, engaged in a war against Philip Augustus, but the representatives of his authority in England pressed this unjust claim in their master's behalf, and St. Hugh prepared to resist them.

He had at the same time to defend himself against the advice of some of his friends, who were overcautious, and wished him to yield to constraint, and not to irritate such powerful opponents. "They declared that Henry II. had decreed by a general constitution (*generali constitutione*), that all the abbeys of the kingdom should remain in his gift; and they urged that it was exceedingly unlikely that the son, who was in many ways even more unyielding than the father, would allow this ordinance to be set aside in favour of a privilege claimed by the Bishop of Lincoln, even though that privilege had been granted to his see by the King's own ancestors."[1] In fine, they represented that the slender benefit to St. Hugh himself, even if he succeeded in gaining his point, could bear no sort of proportion to the risk, the labour, and the

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 8, p. 190.

expense which he was bound to incur in prosecuting such a cause.

But St. Hugh would listen to none of their specious arguments. "God forbid," he said, "that the decree of any mortal man should prevail against the rights of Christ our Lord and those of the Queen of Heaven. Even supposing the laws of which you speak were just, they can have no retrospective force to annul the ordinances of an earlier date. No one of my predecessors has ever given his consent to such a measure, and a layman has not the power to abolish by any decree a privilege of ecclesiastical liberty. Far be it from me to allow any one of the rights of the Church, my mistress, to be overthrown through fear of any worldly power or through reluctance to face trouble and labour. It is quite sufficient shame not to extend the prerogatives and liberties of Holy Church, which have been won and defended by those who have gone before us. But how scandalous it would be if, through the supineness of a useless and faint-hearted chief, those advantages which an energetic champion would have increased and developed, be not even maintained intact in the state in which they came to him."[1]

Once more, therefore, the Bishop of Lincoln entered the lists to do battle for the honour of his see, and for the welfare of the Abbey of Eynsham, which might have grievously suffered from passing under the patronage of the Crown. The suit, which was carried before the King's courts, dragged on for two years and a half. Hugh spared nothing to gain his cause; he ardently pleaded it himself before the King and the nobles, both in England and on the Continent. At length his journeys and his untiring efforts were rewarded by a complete victory. Twenty-four sworn recognitors, whose word was above suspicion, a jury composed

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 8, p. 191.

partly of clerics and partly of laymen, affirmed the existence of the right conferred by William the Conqueror, and handed down to St. Hugh by his predecessors. Accordingly, by the verdict of the King's court, both the custody of the vacant abbey and the right of appointing the next Abbot were adjudged to the Bishop of Lincoln.[1]

The Bishop at once set out for the Abbey of Eynsham, which was near Oxford, and had been the scene of his election to the see of Lincoln. He remained there eight days, living in familiar intercourse with the monks, like a good father in the midst of his children. He shared in all their religious exercises, and took his repasts with them in the common refectory. During his stay the community were busied about the election of a new Abbot. The result of their votes was presented to the Bishop of Lincoln, who ratified it in a solemn assembly of the Abbots from all the neighbouring monasteries. He then departed for Lincoln, with the newly-elected Abbot, whom he consecrated in the Cathedral, with great pomp. After the ceremony, he gave a grand feast to the Abbot and

[1] This passage in the *Magna Vita* seems to me to be of considerable interest in the history of English law. It runs as follows: "Recognito namque per sacramentum viginti quatuor fide dignorum, clericorum pariter et laicorum, quid juris prædecessores sui in illo habuissent cœnobio, adjudicatur ei ejusdem patronatus in regis curia. Hinc ei restituitur abbatiæ vacantis custodia, præficiendi quoque abbatis jurisdictio plena et absoluta." (p. 191.) It seems clear that "the *generalis constitutio* of Henry II., by which all abbacies remained in the King's gift," is simply the 12th article of the Constitutions of Clarendon; but the Constitution in question says only that the custody of abbeys *de dominio regis* is to remain in the King's hand; and the limitation implied in this clause is to be found strongly emphasized in the 46th article of Magna Charta: "Omnes barones qui fundaverunt abbatias unde habent cartas regum Angliæ vel antiquam tenuram, habeant earum custodiam cum vacaverint, sicut habere debent." I am unable to decide whether the procedure followed in the cause was that of the great assize or of Darrein Presentment (Cf. Glanvill, bk. xiii.)—[ED.]

monks of Eynsham, as well as to a large number of other ecclesiastics belonging to the diocese. He did not pretend to conceal the satisfaction he felt at having been able to bring back to the fold these sheep who were so nearly stolen from him. To the Abbot he presented a magnificent crozier, ornamented with silver and ivory, as well as a large and beautiful cup. In fact, he went out of his way to shower favours upon the whole community thus confided to his care, and from that day forth he always showed a particular affection for this religious family, which had been ransomed at the cost of so much toil and fatigue.[1]

## Note to Book III. Chapter III.

It would hardly be safe to assume from the paternal tone of St. Hugh's relations with the monks of Eynsham, that there was never any friction between him and the religious communities settled in his diocese. The great Abbey of St. Albans, in particular, which after a long struggle had obtained exemption from episcopal jurisdiction in 1163, was likely for many years to come to prove rather a thorn in the side of the occupant of the see of Lincoln. At the very beginning of his episcopate, St. Hugh would seem to have been involved in a passage of arms with the St. Alban's community, and although the story only comes to us upon the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, whose well-known recklessness of statement and bitter prejudice against the monks warn us not to put too much trust in the details of his narrative, it seems none the less to be founded on fact. When St. Hugh, says this writer, after receiving episcopal consecration in London, was

[1] The reader may be referred to the note which follows bk. iii. ch. v., later on, for what seems to me a signal proof of the esteem in which the Eynsham community were held by St. Hugh.—[Ed.]

on his way to be enthroned in the Cathedral of his diocese, he took the road which passed through St. Albans, and stopped there with the intention of saying Mass in the abbey church. The monks, however, refused to allow him to do so, for having obtained from the Holy See the privilege of exemption from episcopal authority, and being, like all monks, says Giraldus, excessively nervous and touchy about their privileges, they were afraid that if the Bishop of Lincoln were admitted into their church, the precedent might afterwards be used to their disadvantage. When St. Hugh, a few days later, reached Lincoln and had been duly enthroned, he consulted his canons as to how he should vindicate the honour of his see from the slight which had been put upon it. By their advice he published a decree, that throughout the whole of his vast diocese,[1] in which the monks had many scattered possessions, the brethren of St. Albans should nowhere be permitted to say or to hear Mass, excepting in their own churches. Furthermore, he ordained that the monks should be systematically boycotted, to use a modern phrase, and that none of the faithful subject to his authority, under pain of excommunication, should receive them into their houses or should buy, sell, or barter with them. Thereupon the community of

[1] "Per episcopatum suum totum, qui magnus est et amplus valde, septem scilicet comitatus et dimidium tenens," says Giraldus. The most striking illustration, to my thinking, of the importance of the diocese of Lincoln is to be found in the sum at which it is rated in the assessment of Romescot, or Peter's Pence—an assessment which, made originally at the beginning of the twelfth century, was maintained almost unaltered down to the Reformation. According to this, Lincoln for its share of the 300 marks levied on the whole of England, paid no less than £42, a sum nearly double that contributed by any other diocese. The next highest is the diocese of Norwich, with £21 10s., and the third Winchester, with £17 6s. 8d. Canterbury, York, and London are comparatively speaking nowhere. (See P. Fabre, *Etude sur le Liber Censuum*, p. 143.) The same assessment is preserved in the Red Book of the Exchequer. (See Hall's Edition, vol. ii. p. 750.)—[ED.]

St. Albans, realizing the inconvenience of the position in which they would be placed, and the great losses it would entail upon them, are said to have humbly craved forgiveness at the Bishop's feet, and to have been mercifully received to pardon. Although I do not put any trust in the details of this story, no trace of which is to be found in the St. Alban's chronicles, I am inclined nevertheless to think that it is not a pure invention. In the collection of charters and Papal briefs accorded to St. Albans, which was known as the *Liber Additamentorum*,[1] we find, about eighteen months after the supposed date of this episode, a batch of no less than fifteen Papal documents issued by Clement III. between March 15 and June 1, 1188. Almost every one of these rescripts is of the nature of a privilege, and it looks as if the monks had been straining every nerve to make favour with the new Pope and to secure themselves in good time against any recurrence of episcopal interference. The first of the briefs is headed by the St. Alban's monk who copied the documents into the register: "A privilege to the effect that no excommunication binds the monks of St. Albans," and it decrees in fact that any excommunication launched against them by Archbishop or Bishop is *ipso facto* null and void. The next document is headed by the rubricator: "A confirmation of the *exaction* of the Church of Lincoln." Seeing that it consists of nothing more than a confirmation of the agreement arrived at in 1163, after the dispute between the Abbey and the Bishop and Chapter, the title is significant. It suggests that the monks had tried to revoke the cession of land made to the Bishop of Lincoln in exchange for the renunciation of his claims over the abbey, but that the Pope had held them to their bargain. The privileges con-

[1] It has been printed in the sixth volume of the Rolls Series edition of Matthew Paris.

ceded by the Pope in these briefs are otherwise very ample, but there seems to be no evidence that St. Hugh made any attempt to contest them. On the other hand, the tone in which the St. Alban's chroniclers of a later age refer to the Saint is uniformly sympathetic and laudatory.

The great question of the exemption of the abbeys from episcopal control, although it was beginning to become a burning one just at this period, seems hardly to belong to the present Life.[1] St. Albans was at this date the only exempt abbey in the diocese of Lincoln, and under a prelate like St. Hugh, the monks who really wished to lead religious lives had little reason to seek for exemption. Even temporally speaking, they gained far more from his sympathy and support against secular encroachment than they could possibly lose by his interference in their domestic concerns. Where St. Hugh was satisfied that the Religious, of no matter what Order, were living according to their Rule, he seems to have shown himself the most loyal and generous of friends. The following phrase, for instance, which occurs in a charter of St. Hugh to Ramsey Abbey, issued somewhere between 1189 and 1195, is obviously no mere conventional form, but must have been introduced because it represented sincerely the mind of the writer. He assigns to the monks of Ramsey the proceeds of certain benefices to repair the fabric of their church and monastery, to provide lights for the altar, and some little conveniences for the sick, &c., adding: "This grant has been made by us because the good life (*honesta conversatio*), the humble and

[1] There is much interesting information to be found on this subject in the *Etude sur le Liber Censuum*, by M. Paul Fabre, of the Ecole Française of Rome (Paris, 1892), pp. 88—115, and for earlier periods in an *Inaugural Dissertation* by Dr. K. F. Weiss, *Die Kirchlichen Exemtionen der Klöster* (Basel, 1893).

charitable devotion of the said Abbot and his brethren day by day impress us more and more, diffusing a perfume, as it were, of frankincense and myrrh, so that in a marked and singular degree our spirit finds repose amongst them." This grant to Ramsey of the revenues of certain benefices in the diocese was by no means a unique or isolated instance of such favour being shown by St. Hugh to a religious house. On this vexed question of the granting of churches and church tithes to the monasteries, a word must be said in another page, but it is quite certain that St. Hugh, under proper safeguards, both sanctioned and approved the practice. This wise and large-minded Bishop by no means shared the views of those who can see nothing in such a transaction but a weak concession to the greed and rapacity of the monks.—[Ed.]

## CHAPTER IV.

### *THE JUSTICE OF THE BISHOP, AND THE JUSTICE OF GOD.*

If the Bishop of Lincoln knew well how to look after his own rights, he devoted himself with a zeal no less noteworthy to the just judgment of the cases carried before his own tribunal. According to the ancient discipline of the Church, recognized expressly by the laws of William the Conqueror, each diocese in England had its own "Court Christian," for the trial of cases provided for in the Canon Law; and to which not only ecclesiastics, but also the laity, used frequently to have recourse.[1] This made a heavy burden for the Bishop, more especially if his diocese happened to be a large one, and if the public confidence which he inspired brought him fresh cases to decide from all quarters.

Hugh used to complain of this at times to his friends, and would express a wish to lay aside a charge so cumbersome when united to that of the episcopate. "The only difference," he would say, "between magistrates and bishops at the present day is that the latter

[1] Testamentary and matrimonial causes make up a very large part of litigation, and these belonged of right to the Courts Christian. But besides these there were sundry expedients by which other causes, not so strictly ecclesiastical, might be brought before the same tribunals. (See the *Cautelæ* of William of Drogheda, quoted in one of Professor Maitland's masterly articles on "Canon Law in England," *English Historical Review*, October, 1897, p. 632 and p. 653, n. 6.)—[Ed.]

are kept sitting in judgment perpetually, and the former only on certain specified days; the civil judges have some leisure to attend to their domestic affairs; whereas the ecclesiastical judges have scarcely a moment even to save their souls."

Notwithstanding the very natural repugnance which the Saint felt to the excessive din and distraction of these sessions which he had to preside over, he was very careful to maintain their dignity in every way. All might count on him for that sovereign love of the truth, which, together with prudence and impartiality, is the most distinctive qualification of a good judge.

He was studiously careful never to write or say anything that was not punctiliously accurate; so much so that in *subpœnas* issued under his seal he would not allow the usual formula: "*We remember* having summoned you already," to be inserted, fearing, lest through some failure of his memory, the words might not be literally true. He observed the like caution even in the most familiar conversation, and in telling anything he had done or heard of, would always use some restrictive clause, such as: "If my memory does not deceive me," to save his words from all seeming exaggeration or ambiguity.

Hence we can well imagine with what attention he applied himself in his judicial office to the investigation and exact statement of the truth. He was quick to detect all the artifices of chicanery; and his penetration in this matter elicted the admiration of experienced lawyers and magistrates. His gift of finding a happy solution for the most inextricable difficulties, seemed simply miraculous; as well as the possession of an insight clearer than that of the ablest practitioners, in one who was without any acquaintance, such as theirs, with the inns and outs of a very complicated system of jurisprudence.

Plaintiffs of all sorts and conditions soon found out this wonderful gift of his, and when once they were convinced of the justice of their cause, they would betake themselves to the Bishop of Lincoln, with the certainty that his perspicacity would frustrate the snares of their adversaries, and that his unshaken determination would triumphantly vindicate their rights.[1] All this toil the man of God shared with his archdeacons and other dignitaries chosen from amongst those ecclesiastics more capable of aiding him in his generous purpose of rendering speedy and ample justice to all; nor did he leave them to their own devices, but formed them according to the pattern of his choice. Especially, he required that they should desist from one custom which seemed to him open to the gravest objections; the custom of inflicting fines, instead of canonical penances, for certain misdemeanours. Hugh was convinced of the truth of the sacred text which says: "Presents blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the tongue of the just."[2] He feared lest avarice should so corrupt his delegates as to lead them to the oppression of the innocent, and the protection of the guilty; and he was always reminding them of that other maxim

[1] This will have been specially true of appeals to Rome, in which the petitioner was free to "impetrate" certain definite ecclesiastics who should be named as Papal delegates to try his case. "But thirdly," says Professor Maitland (*ubi supra*, p. 634), "and this is of great importance, the plaintiff who went to the Pope for a writ, seems to have enjoyed a large liberty of choosing his own judges. In the letter of 'impetration' that he sent to Rome, he named the persons whose appointment he desired. The Pope no doubt was free to name other delegates in their stead; still we may believe that the plaintiff generally got his way, unless he asked for something outrageous." Beside the great causes which will be spoken of in the next chapter, we find St. Hugh appointed Papal delegate in several minor suits, *e.g.*, Jaffe, 17632, 17633, Potthast, 388, &c., but these few probably bear no sort of proportion to the number of which we have no record.—[ED.]

[2] Exodus xxiii. 8.

of the Sacred Scriptures: "Fire shall devour their tabernacles, who love to take bribes."[1]

It was objected to him that defaulters were more alive to this sort of punishment, and cared less about excommunication or even corporal penalties. To which he would reply that this was due to the negligence of the judges who were too lenient in their sentences, or too careless to see them carried out faithfully, except it were a case of some fine to be exacted. And if further the example of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who followed this custom, were alleged, Hugh never denied the fact, but conceived that he was at liberty in this point to differ from the sainted Archbishop, and would say openly, "Believe me, it was not for that that he was canonized; but on the score of other titles and virtues which won him the glorious crown of sanctity and martyrdom;" and by this slightly brisk retort he would silence his opponents without in any way detracting from the respect due to St. Thomas à Becket. The due veneration of God's servants does not require of necessity that we should approve all their actions and opinions, or in any way blind ourselves to the light of our own conscience.

There was one virtue in particular in the holy martyr of Canterbury which the Bishop of Lincoln admired frankly and followed faithfully—his indomitable determination against those who despised the authority of the Church. St. Hugh, like Thomas à Becket, made himself a terror to the turbulent by the way in which he availed himself of the formidable weapon of excommunication. Moreover, the justice of God would often sanction his censures in an appalling manner, so that they became death-warrants; and of these examples of vengeance, some deserve special mention.

[1] Job xv. 34.

There lived, near the city of Lincoln, a certain Thomas of Saleby, a knight of ample fortune, already advanced in years and yet childless. His rightful legal heir was William of Hardredeshill, also a knight, a shrewd and able man, but unfortunately held in abhorrence by his sister-in-law, who saw with dread the time approaching when she would be dependent upon him. To ward off this danger she did not scruple to have recourse to a singular piece of deceit; and passed herself off as the mother of a little girl of humble birth whom she brought from some country part.[1] Her husband, who usually allowed himself to be ruled by her, lent himself as a passive accomplice in this iniquity, which Sir William denounced to the Bishop of Lincoln, about Easter-time in 1194. Hugh, in great indignation, summoned Thomas of Saleby on Holy Saturday, and strove to extort from him the required evidence; but he only replied by evasions, promising however to make a clean breast of it on the morrow, after having consulted his wife. "And if you do not keep your promise," said the man of God, "know for certain that to-morrow we shall give sentence of excommunication against all the authors and abettors of this crime."

The would-be mother forbade her husband to keep his word; but the Bishop did not fail to keep his. In the middle of the Easter ceremonies he announced to the assembled multitude all that had come to his knowledge, and made clear to them the enormity of this fraud and its injurious consequences alike to him who was its victim and to his posterity; adding that

[1] As Mr. Dimock truly says (*Magna Vita*, p. 170, note), "the main facts of this curious narrative are fully confirmed by various acts in the public records of the time." Thus in the Curia Regis Rolls, Edit. Hardy, we find under date 28 November, 1194, the following entry: "Willielmus de Herdredeshill petit recordum et judicium versus Thomam FitzWilliam et Agnetem uxorem ejus de placito falsi puerperii, et Epis. Lincolniensis dicit quod loquela illa spectat ad curiam Christianitatis et petit eam."—[ED.]

death was wont to strike such criminals suddenly; and, in fine, pronouncing publicly the threatened anathema.

On the following night, he who had thus taken upon himself to answer for his wife's fault, was found dead in his bed.

She, however, persisted in her desire to disinherit her brother-in-law; and she eventually succeeded. By a royal decision her pretended daughter was affianced to a young brother of the Grand Forester, at that time Hugh de Neville. This gentleman, whose name was Adam, was so eager to enter into pacific enjoyment of the rich patrimony which was the child's portion, that he could scarcely wait till she was fourteen, for the solemnization of the marriage. In vain did the Bishop most strictly forbid the priests to bless, or the faithful to sanction by their presence, an union so insultingly defiant of the law. In his absence a priest was found in some out-of-the-way village simple enough, or wicked enough, to celebrate the marriage, of which the friends or relations of Adam de Neville were witnesses. As soon as the news of this scandal reached the Bishop's ears, he suspended the said cleric from his functions, and cited the other guilty parties to his court. But as they refused to appear before him, they were forthwith excommunicated; a sentence, moreover, which Hugh ordered to be published each Sunday in all the churches of the diocese.

At last, under pressure of fear, the widow of Thomas of Saleby was persuaded to make a full confession in the presence of the Bishop and of certain of his officials. She was accompanied by a servant-woman who had been the chief instrument in her deceit. But this somewhat tardy repentance did not save her from ending her days in the bitterest sorrow, after having seen the disastrous results of her sin continued to the end.

In spite of the publication of her confession by St. Hugh, who hastened to give information of the fact to the King's judges and to the parties concerned, the matter was not yet at an end. Adam de Neville persisted in laying claim to the heritage of Sir Thomas, and exerted all his influence with the members of the court to obtain a sentence in conformity with his wishes. Advantage was taken of the absence of the Bishop of Lincoln to fix a day for final judgment. But on the eve of that very day Adam de Neville, who had stopped at an inn near London, slept to awaken no more, and instead of appearing before a tribunal won over to his cause, he found himself suddenly handed over to appear before the tribunal of God.

The pretended heiress, together with her fortune, was nevertheless once more given in marriage to one of the King's chamberlains, who soon died;[1] and then, a third time, to a gentleman whose violent excesses had already drawn down ecclesiastical censures upon his head,[2] and who, at the time when St. Hugh's biographer was writing, bade fair to end his days in the same miserable state.

This same biographer records other facts of a like nature not less striking. We shall not delay to describe the horrible death of a forester, excommunicated by the Bishop of Lincoln, and brutally murdered a few days later by certain marauders against whom he was preparing to proceed with his usual ungoverned violence. But we must lay stress on one other example of the Divine justice which followed upon a dispute between

[1] We learn from the extant records that his name was Norman de Caritate, or Norman de Camera. In the year 1200, "he gave King John 200 marks for his infant wife and her inheritance." (See Dimock, p. 177, note.)—[ED.]

[2] This, we learn from the records, was Brien de Insula, who paid 300 marks for her. (Dimock, *ibidem*, Rot. Claus. 6th John, p. 17, b.—[ED.]

the new Archbishop of Canterbury and our holy Bishop. Hubert, who had succeeded Baldwin on the primatial throne of England, was also Chief Justice of the kingdom and Papal Legate. Gifted as he was, with great skill in the management of affairs, and endowed with qualities which had won for him the friendship of his venerable predecessor, this prelate had on more than one occasion manfully upheld the interests of the Church; but too often he had preferred to them those of the State or of the King, whose insatiable avarice we know so well. He was more careful to replenish the royal coffers, than to govern his diocese well or to bridle the pretensions of the secular power. At first perhaps he wished to secure, if not the connivance, at least the obsequious silence of the Bishop of Lincoln by gaining his good-will. The boy whom, as we have seen, he brought over to him from France, may possibly have been proof of some such conciliatory disposition. But the Archbishop was not slow to take a very different attitude as soon as occasion revealed the unbending integrity of our Saint.

Such an occasion was offered in the unfortunate case of Richard de Waure, deacon of the diocese of Lincoln, younger son of a noble family, who conceived a desire to become a Religious. He had applied for admission to a monastery and had been accepted. But on learning that his elder brother had died childless he gave up his pious resolve, and the rich heritage which he was to receive led him to forget the call of God. This was the beginning of his fall. For some time, however, he seems to have enjoyed his wealth, and we find him winning the favour of King Richard and of the Chief Justice. This he wished to turn to account for the ruin of a certain Reginald d'Argentan, a knight who, like himself, belonged to the diocese of Lincoln; and against whom he brought a charge of high treason.

As many were perfectly convinced that the charge was false, and as it was a question of capital punishment, the Bishop of Lincoln forbade the deacon, under pain of excommunication, to continue the prosecution. But he, relying on the favourable interference of the King and the Primate, made bold to resist the order; whereupon Hugh promptly declared him suspended for contempt of ecclesiastical discipline.

Richard de Waure then betook himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who released him from the censures laid upon him. Forthwith he started off triumphantly to notify the fact of his absolution to his Bishop, whom he discovered in the thick of an assembled multitude of prelates and nobles. He told him with some insolence that by this act of the Legate he considered himself exempt from his jurisdiction, and free to testify his loyalty to the King in procuring the punishment of traitors; and he congratulated himself that he had now no reason to be disturbed by a censure which he could regard as unauthorized. But the more he strove to overawe the Bishop, the more did he render him inflexible. "It is not the least use," said he to the deacon, "to boast about your absolution. If you still refuse to obey me, I will excommunicate you on the spot." The rebel remained obstinate and began to threaten furiously as if he were speaking in the King's name; and so the Bishop straightway pronounced sentence of excommunication.

Richard de Waure returned to the Legate and told him what had happened; saying that it was an insult to the Archbishop and a grievous wrong to the King. He asked and received a letter in which the Primate ordered the Bishop of Lincoln to hold the deacon absolved. Hugh could not deny the validity of the Legate's absolution, but he did not consider himself thereby deprived of his jurisdiction over a rebellious

subject of his own. Having read the letter, he said to the deacon, who had brought it: "Even though the Lord Archbishop should absolve you a hundred times, I will excommunicate you straight off a hundred times and more, so long as I see you persisting in your foolish rebellion. You know well enough the respect due to our sentence; and now, understand, that we reiterate and confirm it in all its force." The Bishop intended no doubt to appeal directly to the Sovereign Pontiff in case the Legate Hubert should offer a more formal opposition to the exercise of his canonical power. But God took the task of his justification into his own hands.

The deacon had retired considerably ruffled at the issue of this interview; and under the influence of fear began to consider whether it were not better to submit to the orders of his Bishop. He had no time, however, to make known the outcome of these cogitations, for a few days later, one of his servants, in a fit of rage, split open his head with an axe; and thus the rebel died by the hand of another rebel, without having time to show any sign of repentance.

On another occasion the holy Bishop saw his authority set at open defiance by a woman whom he sought to bring back to a life of conjugal fidelity. The daughter of an Oxford tradesman had contracted lawful marriage with a young man of the same city, and had afterwards deserted him to live in adultery with another.

The injured husband brought his grievance before the Bishop and gave proof of his wife's infidelity. Encouraged by her unworthy mother, she would in nowise listen to the man of God, who urged her to return to her duty, but, in the presence of a dense crowd, and hard by the altar before which the Bishop was standing encirled by his clergy, she openly defied

him in the church after a most scandalous fashion. She protested she would die rather than go back as she was told. Hugh, after using all means of persuasion, took the husband's hand, and said to the young woman: "If you wish to be my daughter, listen to what I tell you: give your husband the kiss of peace, and take him with the blessing of God. Else I will spare neither you nor your advisers."

These words, full both of gentleness and power, failed to move the unhappy adultress. When her husband, at the bidding of the man of God, came forward to embrace her, she spat in his face. A thrill of indignation ran through the by-standers.

"You have refused the blessing," cries the Bishop, in a terrible voice, "and you have chosen the curse; and now behold it falls upon you;" and therewith he pronounces the excommunication.

The refractory wife withdrew, persisting in her rebellion. She lived a few days longer, during which her heart grew harder and harder, but very soon a sudden and terrible death cut short her sinful enjoyments.

Thus was the sanctity of marriage vindicated no less than the authority of its illustrious defender.

By these examples, noised abroad not only in the diocese of Lincoln, but throughout England, men learnt to fear the excommunications of the holy Bishop and to avoid them carefully, or else to get absolved from them as soon as possible.

However grieved by the impenitence of certain guilty souls, Hugh could not but marvel at that Providence which brought good out of evil, and pressed justice into the service of mercy. He cordially embraced such as returned to the path of duty; and continued with unwearied courage to make the decisions of his own tribunal respected, as well as the decrees of the

Holy See, of which he was often the honoured representative in the investigation of the most delicate and complicated cases.

## Note to Book III. Chapter IV.

The picture of St. Hugh's administration of justice contained in this chapter may very well be supplemented by an account which Giraldus Cambrensis has left us, of an affair in which he himself appeared before the Bishop's court in the character of a suitor. It was a common thing with Giraldus to labour under a sense of grievance, and the feeling must have been strong upon him, when he addressed to St. Hugh the long letter of remonstrance which I am about to quote from. Everything that we know of the writer suggests that his account of the dispute is likely to be a very one-sided one, in which his own case is skilfully presented and all the strong points on the other side are slurred over. But even while making complaints against St. Hugh, Giraldus really throws into relief the unique position which he occupied among the English Bishops of that day.

It would seem that in the early part of the year 1193, the rectory of Chesterton (in Oxfordshire), fell vacant. The right to present was claimed by Gerard of Camville, previously Sheriff of Lincolnshire, the same who only a short time before had held the Castle of Lincoln against the Chancellor, William of Longchamp.[1] He named Giraldus Cambrensis to the benefice, who at once applied to St. Hugh for institution. There seems, however, to have been considerable doubt as to the ownership or custody of the lands in virtue of which the presentation was made. One of the Lincoln canons, William St. Mère l'Église, who afterwards became

[1] See above, p. 283 and note 1. The castle was really defended by his wife, Nicholaa, Gerard himself being away.

Bishop of London,[1] was at that very time preparing to contest the title of Camville to the "*custodia*" in question, and St. Hugh, sympathizing, it would seem, with his own canon rather than with the sheriff,[2] delayed to institute Giraldus on the ground that there was no satisfactory evidence of the sheriff's right to present. Giraldus was put to great trouble in getting letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, from Stephen Ridel, and others, to urge his cause, but at last, about February 2nd, 1194, St. Hugh consented to institute him. Until September, 1194, Giraldus seems to have been left in quiet possession, but in the meantime William de St. Mere l'Église had played his cards so well with the King that he had obtained a verdict in his favour, and the custody of the estate had now passed into his hands. Thereupon an attempt was made to oust Giraldus from the rectory of Chesterton, and a mandate was addressed to St. Hugh by the Archbishop of Canterbury, bidding him deprive the recently instituted rector, and retain the church in his own keeping, until the Barons of the Exchequer had decided whether the presentation belonged to the Crown or to somebody else. St. Hugh is reproached by Giraldus for weakly giving way to the Archbishop, through his anxiety not to offend the King's friends at this juncture, when the

[1] St. Hugh was one of the consecrating prelates when William St. Mère l'Eglise received episcopal orders in 1199. The name in Latin nearly always appears as Willielmus de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia (*i.e.*, William of St. Mary Church). Why the form William St. *Mère* l'Eglise has come to prevail among modern writers I am quite unable to explain. There seems no doubt that he was a great pluralist, as Giraldus insinuates, but Giraldus himself was holding more than one piece of preferment at this time.

[2] I call him the sheriff for convenience sake, though he was not sheriff at the moment. As Gerard de Camville was a great upholder of the party of Prince John, the King's brother, against the Chancellor (see above, pp. 283 and 288), the episode is interesting as showing that St. Hugh had by no means committed himself unreservedly to the support of the same side.

affair of the furred mantle was just on the point of being settled. Whether Hugh really took part against Giraldus or not, he seems somehow or other to have negotiated a compromise by which the church of Chesterton was placed under the care of a "vicar,"[1] a certain William, apparently a *protégé* of St. Mère l'Église, but a man whom Giraldus declares he had never set eyes upon in his life. To this William, as vicar, twenty marks a year were to be given, a very handsome stipend indeed for those days, while Giraldus himself, though he was still "parson," would receive only what was left, amounting, as he complained, to no more than a miserable pittance of four marks and a half per annum. Even this sum apparently was not regularly paid, and the parson accordingly cited his vicar to appear in the Bishop's court, but though a day and place had been named by St. Hugh for hearing the cause, the proctor of Giraldus, when he duly presented himself at Dorchester on the appointed day, failed to find either court or defendant. If the story which Giraldus tells represents the whole truth, he

[1] It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to explain that a vicar meant originally, as its derivation indicates, a substitute. The vicar was the *substitute* of the rector or "parson," and in the case of appropriated churches where the rectory had been given to a layman or to a corporation (*collegium*), *e.g.*, to a community of monks or nuns, the cure of souls in the parish was necessarily committed to a vicar. In the beginning such vicars were probably removable at the will of the parson, and their stipends were arbitrary and variable. But ecclesiastical authority, as mentioned in the text, seems very soon to have insisted, that the vicars should have a certain fixity of tenure and that a definite allowance, sufficient to meet the approval of the Bishop, should be made to them out of the tithes or other revenues;—these being usually paid to the parson of the church (*persona ecclesiæ*), though the parson might be an absentee, a layman, or a corporation. As may be seen in the Vicarage Book of Hugh de Wells (*Liber Antiquus*), the vicar's stipend, though determined in each case by the authority of the Bishop, varied greatly in amount and in manner of payment, but it was fixed and permanent, and the vicarage itself now became a benefice in the gift of the individual or the corporation who represented the original "parson."

had no doubt some excuse for considering himself hardly dealt with. He writes in the tone of a martyr, offers to resign the church of Chesterton altogether, and affects to speak more in sorrow than in anger of his grievous disappointment in finding that even Hugh was not courageous enough to take up the cudgels for his friends against the malevolence of the court officials. "Who," asks Giraldus, "shall be found to keep in check the monstrous encroachments of the men of the court? Who will denounce the pretensions of the royal power and the so-called 'ancestral customs' (*consuetudines, quas avitas vocant*), both old and new, for which the Blessed Thomas in his glorious contest after staking many other things finally staked his head? Who will stand forth as the champion of Christ's Church to defend the rights of the clergy, if the Bishop of Lincoln, the only man in this land upon whom our hopes were built, should grow faint-hearted, which God forbid, and give up the struggle?" The writer enters at considerable length into the details of the dispute, he shows that his deprivation, even though ordered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was wholly unjustifiable, he describes the speech which he had made before the diocesan synod in October, 1194, and incidentally lets us see by making reference to three consecutive half yearly synods how regularly these assemblies were held during St. Hugh's administration, the Bishop himself presiding. Further, he professes that he had all along felt such a deep conviction of the justice of his cause and of St. Hugh's integrity, that he had no thought even then of appealing to the Holy See as he might easily have done. "There were several in the synod," he tells St. Hugh, "who were greatly astonished, declaring that they had never known or heard of your acting so before, and they urged, though without persuading me, that I should enter an appeal to the Pope and send off a

messenger to the *Curia*.[1] But though the wrong done to me was plain and manifest, I neither appealed nor spoke any harsh word, but I endured all in patience. 'There was no iniquity found upon my tongue, and foolishness did not sound in my mouth.'[2] So much so, that there were many who put this conduct of mine down to mere dulness, or at least to want of spirit. Even when they pricked me on or taunted me, all that I said was: 'If I am the first who has met with such a wrong at the hands of my lord Bishop, I can only pray that I may also be the last.' And in the meantime I kept saying within myself with holy Job:[3] 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done.' 'Have I not dissembled? have I not kept silence? have I not been quiet? and indignation is come upon me.'[4] 'When he shall have fulfilled his will in me many other like things are also at hand with him.'[5] 'Although he should kill me a thousand times over, I will still trust in him.'"[6]

If this is really an accurate account of Giraldus' behaviour on the occasion, those who are most familiar with his writings will probably be the first to allow that it affords very remarkable testimony to the respect in which he held the Bishop of Lincoln. Anything more un-Joblike than the language in which he usually indulged under similar provocation it would be hard to imagine. I am afraid, however, that the true explanation of the letter is to be found in the Welsh archdeacon's shrewd guess, that if St. Hugh had a weak point it was likely to be sensitiveness to any

[1] "Ut ad præsentiam domini papæ appellarem et ad curiam mitterem." I cannot be sure whether *curia* here means the King's Court or the Court of Rome. Such appeals would apparently have needed the royal sanction according to the King's idea before they could be prosecuted at Rome. The letter of Giraldus is to be found in the first volume of his works (Rolls Series), pp. 259—268.

[2] Job vi. 30. [3] Job i. 21. [4] Job iii. 26. [5] Job xxiii. 14. [6] Job xiii. 15.

insinuation of subserviency in his dealings with the Court and Court favourites. It seems clear enough that St. Hugh had sided with William St. Mère l'Église against Giraldus, and William was a great man and in high favour with the King. So far appearances were against the Saint, but it does not of course follow that the right was with Giraldus, still less that the Bishop of Lincoln's obedience to his metropolitan was dictated by any unworthy motive. Whether the writer's accumulation of texts denouncing all acceptation of persons and his references to St. Thomas of Canterbury produced any effect upon St. Hugh, we have no information to enable us to determine.

The same letter contains many interesting details which bear upon English law and practice at this period concerning Church presentations, but they are too technical to be discussed here.[1] I will only remark that the priest William, who was appointed by St. Hugh to fulfil parochial duties in the church of Chesterton, with a salary of twenty marks a year, seems clearly to have been a perpetual vicar whom Giraldus, as rector or parson, could not dismiss at will. This is a com-

[1] One such point may be quoted as a specimen. Giraldus declares that he told St. Hugh, the Archbishop of Canterbury confirming his statement: "Regni consuetudinem talem esse, quod custodes donec ad annos legitimos pueri pervenerint, ecclesias interim vacantes personis conferunt non collegiis." (p. 262.) This apparently means that if the *advocatus* or *custos ecclesiæ*, the person, that is, who had the right to present, was a minor, then the church could only be given to an individual (as parson), and not to a corporate body. I gather from this that Gerard of Camville did not claim to present in his own right, but in virtue of some ward of his, who was a minor, and that St. Hugh had at first wanted the benefice to be made over to a religious community. However, Giraldus does not tell us enough to make the matter clear. It is curious that when on the death of Giraldus the rectory of Chesterton again fell vacant in 1222, the lord of Chesterton was a minor, and the Archdeacon of London presented to it. It would seem that the arrangement made by St. Hugh for the stipend of the vicar still subsisted, the rector being paid a pension of 5½ marks in place of the 4½ which Giraldus declared he received. (Dunkin's *Oxfordshire*, vol. i. p. 250.)

paratively early instance of this form of benefice,[1] which arose out of the Papal legislation of the beginning of the twelfth century, reinforced by various provincial synods, and which became very common after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. To Hugh Wells, Bishop of Lincoln from 1209 to 1235, the credit has been assigned of "rescuing from monkish greed and selfishness a portion of the tithes of the churches which by one method or another the Religious had appropriated."[2] That some sort of general inquisition into the vicarages, and an authoritative settlement of a

[1] The introduction of perpetual vicarages is dated by many writers a great deal too late. Phillimore, for instance, says: "Vicarages are usually supposed to have begun in the eighth year of Henry III., but they are to be met with as early as the time of King John. It would seem that there is an instance of the appointment of a perpetual vicar in the reign of Henry II." (*Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 226. Cf. Makower, *Constitutional History of the Church of England*, Eng. Ed. p. 331; Twiss, Preface to Bracton, *De Legibus Angliæ*, iv. pp. ix. seq.) But already in 1173 an English Provincial Synod enacts that "perpetual vicars, who are bound by oath to the parsons of their churches, are not to set themselves up against the parson" (Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. xxii. p. 144; Wilkins, vol. i. p. 474); and it is surely a reasonable inference that before legislation of this kind can have been found necessary, perpetual vicars must have become numerous. The fact is, that while nothing requires us to believe that perpetual vicarages were a novel institution in the reign of Henry II., there are many indications of the contrary. The decree of the Councils of Clermont (1130) and Second Lateran (1139)—"Præcipimus etiam ne conductitiis presbyteris ecclesiæ committantur, et unaquæque ecclesia proprium habeat sacerdotem"—is plainly intended to secure the appointment of *perpetual* vicars. Compare the wording of the fifth canon of Tours (1163) and the fourth canon of Avranches (1172). Again, in the collection of decrees published by Mansi as an Appendix to the Third Lateran Council (vol. xxii. pp. 248—453), are a number of decisions about vicarages addressed by Pope Urban III. (1185—1187) to English Bishops, from one of which we find that priests were already beginning to hold vicarages in plurality, and in another of which the Pope practically pronounces all vicars to be irremovable, except for some canonical offence proved in the Bishop's Court, while he furthermore guarantees the permanence of their stipends. (*Ibid.* pp. 398, 399.) The instances of permanent vicars which I have noted in connection with St. Hugh's life were certainly not the only ones known in England at that period.

[2] Canon G. G. Perry, in the Preface to *Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells.*

competent allowance to be made to the vicar, took place under Hugh Wells, is no doubt true; but if it be insinuated that no provision was made before that time for the spiritual needs of appropriated churches, or that the vicars were generally left without adequate means of subsistence, the suggestion seems wholly unwarranted. Besides the definite instances of the vicarage of Chesterton just mentioned, of another of which we know at Swinford,[1] and of two in the Ramsey Chartulary,[2] there is every reason to believe that St. Hugh never granted, or sanctioned the grant, of Church property to a religious community without requiring adequate provision to be made for a suitable vicar. Knowing as we do how scrupulous St. Hugh was in the matter of legal phraseology, we may be quite sure that when in a charter of his of this kind in the Harleian collection to which his seal is still attached, we read such words as these: "Reserving always competent vicarages to those who in their own proper persons shall minister in the same churches through the nomination of the said (regular) Canons," the clause was no mere matter of form. The charter in question is one which makes over to the Premonstratensian Canons of Newhouse the revenues of no less than six Lincolnshire parishes (*cum omnibus ad ipsas pertinentibus in proprios eorundem Canonicorum usus*), always of course under the proviso just mentioned of a competent allowance to the vicars who did the duty.[3]

[1] *Ibid.* Preface, p. ix.

[2] At Shillingdon and Hemingford. The charters in these two cases again show the most careful and generous provision for the needs of the vicars. In the second case the vicar, Master Aristotle, is mentioned by name, and there is question of his successors in this perpetual vicarage. (Ramsey Chartulary, vol. ii. p. 176.)

[3] Harleian Charter, 43 H. 23. It would be easy to find several other instances. See, for instance, *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 94 a., where a grant of two churches is cited, made by St. Hugh to the Canons of Nockton.

And this may bring us to the fact already touched upon in a previous note, that St. Hugh was obviously very far from sharing the views of so many Anglican writers of the present day, who regard the appropriation of benefices to religious houses as a gross piece of injustice and a crying example of "monkish greed and selfishness." That the practice might lead and did lead to abuses no one will be disposed to deny; still the evil was not inherent in the institution itself, but contingent and accidental, resulting in most cases from the decay of the religious spirit in particular monasteries. As long as a community of monks or canons consisted on the whole of God-fearing men living under regular discipline, they might very reasonably be depended upon to provide for the adequate discharge of those duties which were involved in the cure of souls either *in propria persona* or by deputy. Surely it was a thousand times better that the surplus funds of such benefices should be devoted to monastic purposes, in which works of charity and utility undoubtedly played a conspicuous part, than that they should go to fill the pockets of some hanger-on of the Court, a pluralist or a layman who never came within a hundred miles of the parish of which he was "parson," and who cared nothing at all about the services of the church or the souls of his parishioners. Yet that was practically the alternative under the conditions of the time. The more Canon Perry and others insist upon the ignorance or the scandalous lives of the clergy at that epoch, the more ample the justification they afford for the action of all the most respected members of the English Episcopate who, like St. Hugh, endowed religious houses freely with churches and church tithes. Which,

*Salva honesta sustentacione vicariorum qui in eis ministrabunt.* See also the charters of St. Hugh to Eynsham, an abstract of which has been printed by Bishop White Kennett in his *Parochial Antiquities*, i. p. 194.

we may ask, was better, that these tithes and dues should be spent in raising some splendid chapter-house, or fratry, or abbey church, with at least a fair chance that it might be given even more directly to the uses of hospitality or the service of God's poor, or that it should be spent in buying gowns or building a lodging for the poor creature who was not and in those days could not be the parson's wife?[1] This was the form in which the question practically presented itself to St. Hugh and to many another good prelate of his time. His conclusion was that providing always a decent competence was secured to the priest (the "perpetual vicar" who held the cure of souls in the parish), the surplus would be well spent in the support of the monks and nuns who devoted their lives by profession, and on the whole faithfully, to the service of God and to good works.

It has been said above that St. Hugh was punctiliously truthful, even amid the formalities and verbiage of a legal document. I think therefore that we are justified in seeing something more than a mere conventional platitude in a clause which occurs in the earliest of his charters to Ramsey Abbey, in which he makes to the monks a very handsome grant of Church property. "We believe," says the Saint, "that we are

[1] We learn from Giraldus and many other sources that even in St. Hugh's time the secular clergy in the remoter districts of England and Wales disregarded the law of celibacy, and left sons who expected to succeed to their father's benefice almost as a matter of right. One of the documents issued by Pope Clement III. to St. Alban's Abbey in 1188, referred to on p. 300, insists that the succession of a son to his father's benefice can never be permitted. (Matt. Paris, vol. vi. pp. 45 and 52.) "Nobis est pro certo monstratum," says the Pope, "quod personæ et vicarii, filios quos de concubinis suscipiunt, ad sacros faciunt ordines promoveri, et eis ecclesias suas quasi rem hæreditariam post mortem dimittunt." The Pope hints in these documents that the monks were more likely to prove watchful guardians of the law of clerical celibacy than the Bishops.

discharging a duty of our pastoral office when with just moderation we assign the benefices of churches to the uses of religious men. Hence it is that hearkening to the prayers of our beloved sons, Robert, Abbot of Ramsey, and the community of that house, amongst whom we find many signs of charity and of religious life, we ordain and grant," &c., and St. Hugh proceeds to make over to these good Benedictines certain rents from eight different parishes of the neighbourhood. And despite the Bishop's sensible qualification of a "just moderation" in such concessions, the number of similar charters issued by him must have been considerable. Several have already been referred to on page 231, but others might be added.[1] It is noteworthy that in many of these and similar acts, St. Hugh not only descends into minute detail, but is careful to guard the rights of his parish churches. There is an interesting instance of this in a decision of his affecting a chapel-of-ease at Hundridge, served by the Cistercian monks of Woburn (Beds.).[2] It is stipulated that the monks are to furnish a chaplain and a clerk for three days in each week, the Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday;—in Lent and Advent, however, on four days, the Saturday being added. They are to provide Tenebræ service on the three days of Holy Week; and on Christmas Day, Matins and the two first Masses. If a feast comes in the week, it is to count as one of

[1] *e.g.*, In the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, we hear of a grant by St. Hugh of the churches of Nockton and Duneston to the Austin Canons of Nockton (*Salva honesta sustentacione vicariorum*, &c.), p. 94a; also of a grant of his of the church of Middleton to Bewley Abbey, p. 89a. Again, in the *Liber Antiquus Hugonis de Wells* (p. 73), we learn that he gave Skidbrook church to the Austin Canons of Thornton, and the churches of Marton, Newton, and Norton to the Canons of the Hospital, Lincoln. To Eynsham and Osney he seems to have been equally generous. For some charters of his to Reading Abbey, see Kennet, *Parochial Antiquities*, i. p. 194.

[2] *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 32 a.

the regular days; and the monks are to supply all necessary church furniture. But the Bishop insists that on principal festivals, to wit, on Christmas Day for the High Mass, on the Purification, Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and the feast of the Dedication of the Church, those who ordinarily use the chapel-of-ease must recognize the rights of the parish church of Chesham and attend service there.

I am inclined, therefore, to think that although the accidental preservation of Hugh de Wells' Book of Vicarages has led to special attention being devoted to his work in this matter, his predecessors in the see, and notably St. Hugh of Avalon, were just as earnest in securing an adequate provision for the vicars who served the parish churches. The entries in Hugh de Wells' book are very far from including all the churches served by vicars. I doubt if they account for even the half. Probably the parishes omitted are those in which the emoluments of the vicar were already clearly defined in some legal instrument.[1] And even in those mentioned we find a considerable number in which the arrangement between the religious corporation and its vicar is said to be *ex dudum constitutis*, "in virtue of an agreement of old standing," dating probably from St. Hugh's time, or even earlier, but not perhaps attested in any formal document.

Finally, before taking our leave of St. Hugh in his capacity of administrator, it may be worth while to call attention to a collection of canons apparently issued by St. Hugh at the commencement of his episcopate, seeing that they are cited by Benedict under the year 1186. One of these provisions forbids the

[1] On the first page of the book a suggestive phrase occurs in connection with the vicarages of Osney Abbey: "*Ubi vicariæ non fuerint prius ordinatæ per episcopum de consensu ipsorum*, per Dominum Lincolniensem (Hugh de Wells) provisum est in hunc modum," &c.

exacting of any fee for the appointment of vicars to chantries, where I am inclined to think that chantries is a generic term covering all functions in which the principal duty was the saying of Mass. For some of these canons I know no earlier authority than this ordinance of St. Hugh's, but nearly all of them may be found included in the decrees of later English Councils, *e.g.*, those of York in 1195, and of Westminster in 1200. The majority of St. Hugh's canons were directed against the simoniacal practices which, as we learn from Giraldus, were one of the great ecclesiastical abuses in England at that day. Their publication by the new Bishop of Lincoln shortly after his consecration would seem to have caused some little sensation, for the Chronicle of Benedict, in which alone they are preserved to us, introduces them in the following words.

"In the meantime, Bishop Hugh, while residing in his diocese, gave edification to the people committed to him, both by his way of life (*conversatione*)[1] and by the word of paternal exhortation, and in his synods he enjoined in virtue of their obedience both his clergy and people to keep without fail the following decrees:

"1. That nothing should be given or received for administering or hastening the administration of justice.

"2. That nothing should be given or exacted of vicars for their chantries.

"3. That the archdeacons and their officials should not presume without regular trial to suspend or excommunicate[2] any church or clerk or any one else.

"4. That no layman or other person not a priest

[1] Canon Perry (p. 204) translates *conversatione* "by his conversation"! This may conceivably be meant for an archaism, but no one reading the translation would suspect it to be such.

[2] Canon Perry translates *suspendere aut excommunicare* by "should not presume to fine."

should have it enjoined upon him as a penance to get Masses said.

"5. That no Anniversary Masses or trentals or other fixed Masses should be celebrated for temporal gain.

"6. That no one be admitted to the performance of priestly functions unless it be proved that he was ordained canonically by the Archbishop of Canterbury or one of his suffragans.

"7. That all who hold ecclesiastical preferment should keep their hair cut short and wear the tonsure.

"8. That no cleric should sue another cleric in a temporal court in matters ecclesiastical."—[ED.]

## CHAPTER V.

### *DELEGATE OF THE HOLY SEE.*

At the beginning of one of the Letters addressed by Pope Celestine III. to the Bishop of Lincoln, we find the prerogatives of the See of Peter thus solemnly affirmed: "The Great Mediator between God and man, our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Providence is never at fault in any of His decrees, has reserved to the Holy Roman Church the sole power of correcting and instructing all other Churches. To her alone belongs the right of reforming all abuses, and approving all that is worthy of approbation, by virtue of her Apostolic authority."[1]

The highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, as well as the humblest of the faithful, are equally dependent on this supreme jurisdiction, and owe an entire obedience to the successor of St. Peter.[2] The Pope, at the head

[1] Migne, *P.L.* t. ccvi. col. 1037. The date of this Letter is June 8, 1194.

[2] These are the words in which the Vatican Council has defined this jurisdiction: "If any one says that the Roman Pontiff has only to fulfil an office of inspection and direction, and does not possess full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the Universal Church, not only in matters concerning faith and morals, but also in those which have to do with the discipline and government of the whole Church; if any one says that the Roman Pontiff only possesses the chief part of this power, and does not possess it in its plenitude, and to its utmost extent; or that this power is not ordinary and immediate, both over all Churches and each individual Church, and over all Pastors and each individual of the faithful; let him be Anathema." (*Constitutio de Ecclesia Christi*, ch. iii.)

of the great society of the Christian Church, is not like those monarchs who reign without governing; he is a true father, who possesses the most complete authority over his children, and who exercises it, without respect of persons, by a real and continual action, either by himself examining into the cases brought before his tribunal, or by appointing delegates to act in his stead. In the Letter from which we have just quoted the opening clause, Celestine III. committed to the Bishop of Lincoln the task of inquiring into the accusations brought against the illegitimate son of Henry II., Geoffrey, then Archbishop of York, and at an earlier period Bishop-Elect of Lincoln. After renouncing his claim to the see of Lincoln, by order of the Holy See, Geoffrey became Chancellor to his father, to whom he gave numerous proofs of sincere attachment. In accordance with a wish expressed by Henry II. before his death, Geoffrey was elected Archbishop of York in 1190, and in 1191 was consecrated at Tours. We need not give the history of his quarrels with William of Longchamp, nor revive all the accusations of his enemies. It is sufficient to say that his Canons considered his conduct more worthy of a great baron than of a Bishop, and reproached him with neglecting his pastoral duties, and with arbitrary and violent action in all his official relations. The Pope, troubled at the denunciations made to him, wished to know the truth of the matter; and in looking round for a representative who should possess the discretion and firmness necessary for such an inquiry, his choice fell upon the Bishop of Lincoln.

Three years before this, St. Hugh had had occasion to show how little he was dazzled by the royal, but illegitimate birth of his colleague in the episcopate. Rosamund Clifford, the mother of Geoffrey, had sought refuge in the Convent of Godstow, where she did

penance for her sinful life.[1] For her sake, King Henry II. had loaded the community at Godstow with benefits and privileges. When Rosamund died, she was buried in the choir of the church, and her tomb, covered with silken draperies, was surrounded by wax-tapers and lamps always burning, the King having left a considerable sum of money for that purpose. One day, the Bishop of Lincoln, in the course of his pastoral visitations, came to Godstow, which was in his own diocese, between Oxford and Modestow. While praying before the altar, he was distracted by the sight of this curious funeral monument, and asked what it all meant. When the nuns told him who was buried there, he burst into indignant exclamations: "Take her away from here," he said, "her life was scandalous. Bury her outside the church in common graveyard. It will be a lesson to other women to lead chaste lives. Her presence here is a

[1] There seems to be absolutely no evidence for the assertion that Rosamund Clifford was the mother of Geoffrey, although many writers have repeated the statement. On the contrary, Walter Map, a contemporary, tells us positively that the name of Geoffrey's mother was Hikenai (*De Nugis Curialium*, v. 6.), and Giraldus, another contemporary, describes Rosamund as *puella* in 1175, and assigns to that epoch her liaison with Henry. This last fact seems to be conclusive against the possibility of her being Geoffrey's mother, for Geoffrey was born more than twenty years earlier, in or about the year 1153. It is just possible that Geoffrey's interest in Godstow, shown by his attempt to make the nunnery of Clementhorpe dependent on it, may have suggested that he was the son of Rosamund. It may be added that there is an equal lack of evidence for the statement that Rosamund repented and did penance before her death. Both St. Hugh's action as described in the text, and the famous epitaph over her tomb rather suggest the contrary. The epitaph ran:

HIC JACET IN TUMULO ROSA MUNDI NON ROSA MUNDA;
NON REDOLET SED OLET QUÆ REDOLERE SOLET.

Walter de Clifford, Rosamund's father, is known from a charter printed in Dugdale (iv. p. 366) to have left property to Godstow nunnery, "for the souls of his wife Margaret Clifford, and our daughter Rosamund," but this of course proves nothing.—[ED.]

dishonour to religion."[1] The Bishop's command was obeyed, and the nuns thus atoned for a fault which they had committed, perhaps through a mistaken motive of gratitude.

The Archbishop of York must have heard of this incident,[2] and he knew also how conscientiously the Bishop of Lincoln had already executed a Pontifical commission, which had for its object the annulling of several of his sentences of excommunication.[3] To escape from a judge whose sagacity and inflexibility he dreaded, he appealed to Rome, and left his diocese before the arrival of St. Hugh. But this emergency also had been anticipated and provided for in the Pope's Letter. In accordance with the instructions contained in it, the Bishop of Lincoln, accompanied by the two assessors appointed by the Pope, the archdeacon of Northampton and the Prior of Pontefract, assembled the Abbots and clergy of the diocese in York Cathedral. It was the 8th of January, 1195, and after making the inquiries desired by Pope Celestine, Hugh fixed the 1st of June following as the limit within which Geoffrey was bound to present himself before the Holy Father.

This duty being accomplished he withdrew to his own diocese, and we do not even find that he was present at the Council of York, which was held on the 14th and 15th of June, under the presidency of Archbishop Hubert, in his capacity of Papal Legate. To the decrees passed by this assembly Hugh could not have been indifferent. They contain many excellent

[1] Roger de Hoveden, ad an. 1191; *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 104.

[2] The fact that there is nothing to show that Geoffrey resented it affords further reason to believe that Rosamund was not his mother.

[3] Migne, *P.L.* vol. 206, col. 969; Jaffe-Löwenfeld, n. 16829 (February—March, 1192).

provisions for the reverent custody of the Blessed Sacrament, for the reform of the lives of the clergy, and for the suppression of various simoniacal practices, ending with the clause, "Saving in all things the authority and dignity of the Holy Roman Church."[1] Hugh who was so keenly sensitive to all that affected the religious welfare of people and clergy, cannot have failed to rejoice over these measures of reform, and to congratulate the Archbishop on their promulgation.

During this time, Geoffrey himself had obtained a new delay from Rome, and as he did not even then appear on the day fixed, his canons implored St. Hugh to use the power given him and to suspend their Archbishop. But Hugh wished to leave the responsibility of so grave a sentence with the Pope. "I would rather be suspended myself," he said, "than suspend another Bishop, in a case like this."[2] Doubtless with his usual

[1] These canons may be found in Hoveden, vol. iii., and of course in Wilkins and Mansi. Several of them only re-echoed the ordinances drawn up by St. Hugh himself, to which reference has been made in the note at the end of the last chapter.—[ED.]

[2] It is interesting to note that St. Hugh must have been well acquainted with Geoffrey. In 1189 he and Geoffrey, who was then Elect of York, attended William, the King of Scotland, to Canterbury, when he came to do homage to Richard on the accession of the latter (R. de Diceto, vol. ii. p. 72). In refusing to suspend the Archbishop in 1195, Hugh was probably influenced by his own personal knowledge of the many noble qualities in Geoffrey's character ; and it is a striking fact that in every case in which the Pope was not acting merely upon the report of others, but after a full examination of the cause, he seems to have decided in the Archbishop's favour. So it was in 1196, when Geoffrey at last went to Rome in person, so again in 1199, at the beginning of the reign of Innocent III., and so in 1207, when the Pope put the Church of York under an interdict on account of the treatment of the Archbishop. That Geoffrey was violent and impracticable cannot be denied, but he had many redeeming traits, and it will always be remembered to his honour, that when all the other sons of Henry II. turned against him he alone showed him a constant and devoted fidelity. "Geoffrey seems," says Bishop Stubbs, "to have resembled Richard in his nobler traits and in his less repulsive faults ; to have been generous, impulsive, and open-hearted. But, like Ishmael, his hand was

penetration he foresaw how the affair would end. The Pope did actually, it is true, pronounce sentence of suspension against Archbishop Geoffrey, and commissioned St. Hugh to publish the sentence.[1] But, whether it was that some new testimony came to light in his favour, or whether he really gave serious signs of amendment, certain it is that, on betaking himself to Rome, Geoffrey was fully reconciled to the Holy See, and released from all censures. The end of his life was a noble reparation for whatever irregularities there had been in the past. After obtaining the hearty support of Pope Innocent III. first against Richard and then against King John, he had to fly the country on account of his courageous defence of the rights of his Church, and died in exile in 1213.

Of the edifying death of Hugh de Nonant, the Bishop of Coventry, something has already been said in an earlier chapter. This prelate also, and probably with much more serious reason, had given considerable anxiety to the Holy See. His own judgment of himself, in the remorse of those last months at Bec, was so severe, that he declared he would consider himself happy to purchase God's forgiveness at the cost of remaining in Purgatory until the Day of Judgment. In his case also, St. Hugh had been delegated by Pope Celestine III. to execute a sentence passed by the Supreme Pontiff. It would take too long to recount all the varying phases of the career of Hugh Nonant, and especially the details of the long campaign he carried on against his monastic Chapter of Coventry. One

against every man and every man's hand against him. Otherwise he left behind him the reputation of personal temperance and a pure life." Preface to Hoveden, iv. p. lxxvii. It was no small praise to say of one who was esteemed so worldly an ecclesiastic and who had so long delayed to take Orders: *Vir quidem fuit magnæ abstinentiæ et summæ puritatis.* (*Historians of the Church of York*, vol ii. p. 400.)—[ED.]

[1] Migne, *P.L.* t. ccvi. p. 1127; Jaffe, n. 17302.

document issued by Pope Celestine and two by Innocent III.,[1] are directed to the Bishop of Lincoln, associated in each case with the celebrated Samson, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, bidding them execute the mandate of the Holy See for the restoration of the Benedictine monks whom the Bishop of Coventry had forcibly ejected from his Cathedral Church, supplying their place with secular canons. [We do not know anything of the share which St. Hugh took in the execution of this commission. The Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond perhaps not unnaturally represents the Abbot of St. Edmund's as playing the chief part, and as the only one of the commissioners who was really active in the cause of the expelled monks,[2] but we may be quite sure that these two fearless and upright men, who had so many good qualities in common, would have found themselves in substantial agreement in matters of principle. That they experienced no great difficulty in acting cordially together, may be inferred from the fact that they were associated again by Innocent III. in the commission appointed by him to give judgment in so extremely delicate and thorny a controversy as that between the monks of Christ Church and the Arch-

[1] Jaffe-Löwenfeld, n. 17600 (Dec. 29, 1197); Potthast, n. 253 (June 3, 1198) and n. 588 (Feb. 3, 1199).

[2] Brakelond, in fact, asserts distinctly that the two most eminent of the three commissioners, viz: the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln, hung back, as if they wished to curry favour with the secular clergy, and that Abbot Sampson alone was zealous in the cause of the restoration of the monks. His words are: "Convocatis ergo partibus apud Oxneford receperunt judices literas precatorias a domino Rege ut negotium illud poneretur in respectum. Archiepiscopo et episcopo dissimulantibus et tacentibus et quasi clericorum favorem venantibus, solus abbas aperte loquebatur, monachus pro monachis de Coventria, eorum causam publice fovens et defendens." (Roll Series, vol. i. p. 295.) This may very easily have been true of Archbishop Hubert, but it seems unlikely that St. Hugh would have supported the cause of the intruded canons.—[Ed.]

bishop of Canterbury, then Legate, Justiciar, and Regent of the kingdom. But of this celebrated dispute we shall have to speak in a future chapter.]

The causes hitherto referred to were famous and important quarrels in which the whole kingdom was in some measure interested, but we also meet with St. Hugh's name in connection with sundry minor commissions of the Holy See in which he acted as judge delegate, giving his time and thought ungrudgingly to see that right was done. One such case which has been preserved to us, was that of an ecclesiastic named William, in the diocese of York, whose enemies had violently ejected him from the church to which he had been instituted. The lord of the manor had put his own brother into the rectory thus vacated, and announced his determination of supporting the intruder by force of arms. What could the priest William do? After finding that all his own efforts were in vain, he decided to commit his cause to the energy and sense of justice of the Bishop of Lincoln. When all others had turned their backs upon him, St. Hugh pronounced in his favour and lent him most effective support. In the Pope's name he pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the intruding rector and all his abettors. Once more, the vengeance of God confirmed the verdict of His servant. Some of the guilty persons went out of their minds; others perished by violent and sudden deaths; others again lost their sight, by a disease in which they suffered agonies of pain. In the end, justice was done and the priest was reinstated in the church which was rightly his.

On another occasion, two poor orphans appealed to Rome, and asked that their case might be judged by the Bishop of Lincoln. They had been unjustly deprived of the greater part of their inheritance, by a rich and influential man in London, named Jordan de

Turri.[1] On the appointed day, this man appeared before St. Hugh. He was accompanied by a crowd of influential supporters, who audaciously forbade the Bishop to proceed with the case, and threatened him with the vengeance of the King, adding, it would seem, that if the Bishop persisted, the city of Lincoln should be made to feel the effects of their vengeance. The assessors who were trying the case with our Saint, were of opinion that it would be better to give way, but the Saint hardly seemed to pay attention to the advice they were proffering. He recollected himself for a few moments, to ask for guidance from on high, and then, inspired by the Father of orphans, he turned to Jordan de Turri, and thus addressed him: "Jordan, in spite of my affection for you, I cannot put your interests before the interests of God. It is true that neither these poor children, nor my colleagues, nor myself, can hope to gain anything in a struggle with you and your powerful friends. But I will tell you what I am going to do, I speak for myself only, but I want to discharge my conscience. I shall write to our Sovereign Lord the Pope, and tell him that you are the only man in this kingdom who dares to contest his jurisdiction, and that you alone are defying his authority." The Bishop as he expected, had no need to execute his threat, or resort to any extreme measures. Jordan was conquered; he knew, says the author of the *Magna Vita*, what weight such a report would carry when it reached the ears of the Sovereign Pontiff. Hugh's reputation stood too high at Rome for his words to be disregarded. Jordan accordingly lost no time in coming to terms

[1] The name of Jordan de Turri often appears in contemporary records, and he must have been an influential man. (Cf. *Rotuli Curiæ Regis*, Palgrave, vol. i. pp. 232, 344, 420; *Great Roll of the Pipe*, Hunter, p. 225; *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 8; *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 155.)

with the complainants, and St. Hugh held him rigorously to full restitution.[1]

It does not seem in any way strained to interpret this language of our Saint as a strong testimony of his loyalty to the Holy See. But as to that, there can be no better evidence than the fact that he was appointed one of the Papal delegates in every really momentous cause which came up for decision during the fourteen years of his episcopate.[2]

## Note to Book III., Chapter V.

It is difficult to quit the subject of St. Hugh's various commissions as delegate of the Holy See, without a reference to the epoch-making articles of Professor Maitland which have appeared in the *English Historical Review* for 1896 and 1897, on "Canon Law in England." No one has before shown so clearly how irreconcilable are the real facts of ecclesiastical procedure in England previous to the Reformation with the "Continuity" theory now in favour among Anglicans. Ecclesiastical law, he has proved, in this country as in the rest of Europe, was not archiepiscopal law, but Papal law. So far from England standing apart from and unaffected by the pronouncements of the Bishop of Rome, the *Corpus Juris Canonici* is largely made up of decisions given in answer to appeals for guidance submitted by

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 13.

[2] Yet on the ground of his delaying to excommunicate the enemies of William of Longchamp, and his unwillingness to suspend the Archbishop of York—both which acts were thoroughly justified by the subsequent action of the Pope himself—Canon Perry can write: "Either therefore Hugh believed the charges (against Geoffrey) greatly exaggerated, or else in this as in the former case, he refused to be the minister of the Pope to interfere with the discipline of the Anglican Church. There was not indeed in spite of his monastic training much of the spirit of subordination in the Bishop of Lincoln." (*Life*, p. 261.)—[Ed.]

English Bishops. "Explain it how we may," says Professor Maitland, "the fact that more than a third of Alexander III.'s permanently important decretals have English cases for their subject-matter is, or ought to be, one of the most prominent facts in the history of the English Church. As a maker of case law, Alexander is second to no Pope unless it be to Innocent III., and a surprisingly large number of the cases which evoke case law from these two mitred lawyers are English cases."[1]

But what Professor Maitland more particularly insists upon is the importance of the doctrine of the Pope's universal jurisdiction, as every man's "Ordinary," when conjoined with the practice of delegation. It was universally recognized that the Roman Curia was not only an omni-competent court of appeal, but also an omni-competent court of first instance: in other words, that the Pope had an acknowledged right to take the trial of any ecclesiastical cause whatever out of the hands of the ordinary judges, the Bishops and Archbishops, and to try it himself at Rome or by his delegates here in England. It is these prerogative faculties which we have seen St. Hugh in this chapter so frequently invested with, and in this character of Papal delegate, the representative of the Holy See, were he but simple Abbot or Prior, stood above Bishop or Archbishop, wielding a power before which all other ecclesiastical authority must bow. "What we may call the natural order of the English Church is always being inverted, the last becomes first, the first last, when the Pope pleases. A cause which concerns the Archbishop of Canterbury will be committed to one of his suffragans, or (and this must be still more galling) to the rival primate."[2]

[1] "William of Drogheda and the Universal Ordinary," *English Historical Review*, Oct. 1897, p. 640.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 648.

And yet, as Professor Maitland shows, this state of things was not merely acquiesced in in England, but it was largely the action of the English Bishops themselves that brought it about. "If the Pope," he remarks, "acquired an almost unlimited power of declaring law, if all the important spiritual cases passed out of the hands of the 'ordinary' judges into the hands of Papal delegates, the Bishops of England were more responsible for this good or bad result than were the Bishops of any other country."[1] Nor was this merely a matter of practical policy into which the prelates had been constrained by Papal usurpation. Theory went hand in hand with practice. "It is Grosseteste," Professor Maitland reminds us, "Grosseteste, the theologian, the Bishop, the immortal Lincolniensis, who will preach with fervour the doctrine that the whole of a Bishop's power is derived from, or at all events through, the Pope, and thus make all thought of federalism an impiety. The Bishop shines with a reflected light which will pale and vanish whenever the Papal sun arises."[2]—[ED.]

[1] P. 647. [2] P. 635.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *THE EUCHARISTIC VISIONS OF ST. HUGH.*

St. Hugh had yet another mission to fulfil, not only in his own diocese, but throughout the whole Church in England, of which at that epoch he was the most shining light. It was at the express command of the Holy See that he reluctantly undertook this new duty: but he was also encouraged in it by God Himself, who sent him supernaturally a wonderful message, as we are now about to relate.

In the month of November, in the year 1194 or 1195,[1] and on the day after the feast of All Saints, a young cleric, about twenty-five years of age, was kneeling before an altar of the Blessed Virgin, devoutly reciting the Psalter for the souls of the Faithful Departed. The remembrance of his father, who had died only a few years before in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, came vividly before him, and interrupted his prayer. He threw himself on his knees, while the tears gushed from his eyes, and poured out his soul to God. As he knelt on, still deeply moved, he distinctly heard a voice which seemed to come from the altar utter these words: "Rise, my son, and go at once to the Bishop of Lincoln. Tell him, from God, that he must urgently draw the

[1] There is nothing in the *Magna Vita* to determine the date of this vision. The Archbishop referred to in the course of it, however, must have been Hubert. This appears from what the biographer says in bk. v. ch. 5. In that case the vision cannot have taken place before 1193.—[Ed.]

attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the state of the clergy in England. Reform is grievously needed, and the Divine Majesty is deeply offended by innumerable abuses. Sins of the flesh are rife and simony of all kinds.[1] . . . The vices of the shepherds are communicated to their flock; great and small are infected with the contagion, and the anger of God will soon fall upon the inhabitants of this kingdom. Nothing but a speedy punishment of the guilty can avert His wrath." Trembling with fear, the young cleric asked himself what this voice could be. Unable to solve the mystery, and attributing it to his own imagination, he determined to go on reciting the Psalter.[2] But as soon as he had

[1] I do not reproduce at length the terms in which, according to the *Magna Vita*, the moral corruption and the avarice of the clergy were denounced by the heavenly voice. Under the sin of *luxuries*, with which the clergy are charged, any Englishman before the Reformation would of course have understood the maintenance by priests of wives, or rather *focariæ* or *concubinæ*, as the canons roundly term them. It is perhaps his obtuseness to this fact which permits Canon Perry to make the astounding statement: "There is reason to believe that St. Hugh took a very common sense view of this matter (of clerical celibacy), and did not attempt any wild crusade against the *uxorati sacerdotes.*" (p. 149.) Canon Perry, of course, refrains from explaining what "reason to believe" this he has discovered. Certainly it is extraordinary that if these were the views which were notoriously professed by St. Hugh, he should have been singled out as the one Bishop in England capable of inaugurating the moral reformation of the clergy.—[ED.]

[2] There are several points in this narrative, as recounted in the *Magna Vita*, which are of interest to students of the ecclesiastical usages of the middle ages. In the first place, we learn that there was a custom of reciting not merely the Office for the Dead, but the entire Psalter, on All Souls' Day, and this not merely for monks in monasteries or canons in collegiate churches, but for individual clerics residing apart. The cleric, in his narrative, explains that he had already got as far as the 101st Psalm; and he was presumably going on to the end: *ego siquidem priusquam hæc audirem psalterio jam excurso usque ad centesimum primum psalmum*, &c.

Secondly, the cleric describes himself as *singing* the Psalter, *cum psalterium decantarem*, but from the fact that he was alone in the church, and from what follows, it appears that he was only reciting it aloud. Hence we may reasonably infer that the word *cantare*, when used either

made the sign of the Cross, and repeated a few verses, he heard the voice once more saying in the same tone exactly the same words. Then the cleric thought that some mysterious council was being held, upon which he had no right to intrude, and, though he could see no one, he rose to leave the church. But at the door he was stopped by a pious woman who was continually praying there. She said to him: "God has spoken to you twice, and has given you a command which I do not understand; but I am quite certain of the fact that God has spoken to you." Still more troubled by this, the young ecclesiastic left the church, and passed the rest of the day in fasting and prayer. No sooner had he lain down to sleep, than he again heard the same mysterious voice saying to him: "It is to you I speak, my son, who are now taking your rest: go as soon as possible to the venerable Bishop of Lincoln, and tell him what I have twice already said to you." "But," objected the cleric, "how can I expect so great and distinguished a man to listen to me? I am too young and inexperienced. I hardly dare to address him." "He will believe you at once," replied the voice; "you need only tell him what you will see upon the altar during his Mass, on the very day you first come into his presence; and that will fully confirm the truth of your message. Hesitate no longer, but do as you have been bidden."

The cleric promised to obey. He slept for a few hours, rose before daybreak, and set off for the manor of Bugden, where the Saint was then staying.

of Masses or psalms by mediæval writers, is not always to be interpreted literally.

Thirdly, he tells us that he left the church, *adorato Domino, signans mihi frontem.* The rarity of such references to any salutation of the Blessed Sacrament, makes it seem worth while to call attention to this instance here.—[ED.]

It was a Saturday. The choir of the church was filled with ecclesiastics who had come to assist at the Bishop's Mass. A party of monks had brought some vestments to be blessed, and a very beautiful chalice to be consecrated. Hugh complied with their request, taking occasion to commend the exquisite workmanship of the chalice and to reflect upon the indifference of so many priests, who spend all their revenues upon themselves and nothing upon the service of the altar. Then, returning to the sanctuary, he began his Mass. The crowd of ecclesiastics assisted at it, and among the rest our cleric, charged with the heavenly message. He fixed his eyes on the Bishop and the altar, and waited for the promised sign.

The Mass went on as usual, until the solemn moment of consecration came. As the man of God lifted the host a little from the altar and blessed it before pronouncing the solemn words which would convert it into the Body of Christ, the cleric saw in the same instant a little Child, very small but of Divine and entrancing beauty, resting in the Bishop's hands. He burst into tears, and adored the Infant-God, who thus manifested His Real Presence in the Mystery of the Altar. The apparition was renewed a second time when the Sacred Host was raised again, just before the fraction which precedes the Communion. "In this elevation also," says the *Magna Vita*, "he beheld, under the same image as before, the Son of the Most High, born of the Virgin, offering Himself to His Father for the salvation of men."[1]

[1] The minute description of this occurrence given in the *Magna Vita* seems to me clearly to prove that no elevation of the Host, in the modern understanding of the term, was practised in the diocese of Lincoln at the date when it was written (*c.* 1214). The cleric sees the Infant first when the host is elevated from the altar *before* the consecration—*ubi elevatam in altum hostiam benedicere moris est mox in Christi corpus mystica sanctificatione convertendam.* He then continued shedding tears of devotion until

As soon as the Mass was finished, the cleric approached the holy Bishop, and asked for an interview. St. Hugh took him behind the altar, and told him to speak freely. Then the young ecclesiastic faithfully related all he had heard and seen, concluding thus: "I arrived just before the Introit of the Mass. I attentively watched your Holiness,[1] during the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, not forgetting to look at the altar also. And I clearly saw in your hands the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the form of a little Child, whom you twice raised above the chalice. Surely, you yourself must have seen the same; only in a much more perfect manner, because you were quite close to our Lord, and far more worthy to behold Him."

St. Hugh answered by mingling his tears with those of this holy youth. Then, after much pious conversation, he dried his own eyes and those of his messenger, and embracing him tenderly, bade him speak of this marvel to no one else. He urged him further to enter a monastery, in order not to expose any longer to the dangers of the world the soul which had been favoured by that blessed vision. The young man promised to follow this advice. Then the Bishop led him to the refectory, placed him near himself during the repast,

the Host was raised from the altar a second time, shortly before the fraction, when he was enabled to see the Divine Infant again—*tempus omne continuabat in lacrimis quod intercessit ab illa elevatione usquequo iterum eam levari cerneret frangendam jam et sumendam sub trina sui partitione.* It seems to me quite incredible that the biographer could refer in such terms to these minute "elevations," if it had then been the custom to raise the Sacred Host above the head, as at present, to be adored by the people. (*Magna Vita*, p. 236.)—[ED.]

[1] The phrase, "your Holiness," was not at this period restricted by usage, as it is at present, to the person of the Pope. It may frequently be found in the letters of that age as a term of mere courtesy in addressing Abbots and Bishops.—[ED.]

and sent him away on the next day, with his blessing, to a monk who was one of his special friends.

The new Religious lived a holy life in the cloister, where he was favoured with numerous other revelations, many of which were set down in writing by the order of St. Hugh, and were scattered far and wide. It was from the lips of this monk that the Bishop's chaplain and biographer afterwards gathered the facts which we have just been relating.

Following the example set us in the *Magna Vita*, we may add the account of another Eucharistic miracle which afterwards gave the Saint an opportunity for a great act of faith.

During his last journey in France, St. Hugh stopped at a little village called Jouy, between Paris and Troyes. According to his usual custom, he invited the parish priest to his own table. The priest declined the proffered honour, but made his appearance after dinner, to pay his respects to the Bishop, and also to speak to him of a wonderful thing which had happened to himself many years before. He was an aged priest, of venerable aspect, and bore in his emaciated body the marks of continued austerities. He respectfully saluted the Bishop, but had not the courage to address him directly, and therefore communicated the following facts to some of the clergy who stood around:

"I was made a priest when very young, too young in fact, and I had the misfortune to commit a grievous sin, and the still more terrible misfortune to dare to say Mass without having purified my soul by sacramental confession. One day, at the very moment of consecration, I asked myself if it were possible that such a vile sinner as I, could indeed change the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of the God of all purity. The doubt kept haunting me all the Mass, until the moment came for the breaking of the Host, when

suddenly, on separating the two fragments, Blood spurted out, and the portion of the Host I held in my hand assumed the appearance of Flesh, reddened by the Blood from the other half. I was overwhelmed with awe and terror; I let everything fall into the chalice. I covered the chalice with the paten, and the paten with the sacred pall,[1] and finished the Mass as well as I could. As soon as every one had retired, I reverently placed the miraculous Host in a fitting receptacle near the altar, where to this day It remains in the same state. I set out for Rome, and told the Pope all that had occurred, making full confession of my guilt to him, and receiving absolution. I beg of you, my brothers, to intercede for me with your holy Bishop, that he will grant me his prayers, and also that he will come to my church, bringing you all with him, in order to venerate our precious treasure."

The clergy in attendance repeated these words to the man of God, expecting that he would at once order them to accompany him to the church, to view this miracle. But they were mistaken. St. Hugh simply said: "Very well. Let them keep, and welcome, the token of their want of faith. But why should we go and see it? There is no need for us to see with our bodily eyes that which we see clearly with the eye of faith every day in the Mass."

He gave his blessing to the parish priest of Jouy, and dismissed him. Nor would he allow any of his own clergy to satisfy their curiosity. "No," he said, "the things of faith we believe with a certainty which is even higher and stronger than the facts which we

[1] *Sacra palla.* I am unable to say whether this was really what we now call a pall, or whether the writer uses the term to describe the corporal.—[ED.]

perceive by our bodily senses."[1] His burning words had an effect which he never intended. They confirmed the suspicions which his chaplain and other intimate friends had long entertained of the supernatural visions by which he was favoured at the altar.[2]

We can well understand the reasons for the silence he always observed on this subject. His intense humility naturally induced him to conceal the Divine favours which were bestowed upon him, and he also doubtless felt, with St. Peter, that the "prophetical word," *i.e.*, the word of revelation, was a better ground of faith than even the testimony of a vision.[3]

Nevertheless, the holy Bishop of Lincoln is one of those whom the Church delights to honour as in a special manner associated with the Blessed Sacrament, and as rewarded by the deeper consolations of a supernatural insight into this mystery. He is represented in sacred art, holding a chalice, above which appears

[1] A similar fact is related of the hero of the crusade against the Albigenses. One day some persons came hastily to tell the Count de Montfort that the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ had appeared visibly upon the altar, in the hands of the priest. "Those of you who have no faith," he said, "had better go and see it. I have no wish to see it, for I firmly believe all that the Church teaches with regard to the Sacrament of the Altar."

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. chs. 4, 15, and 18. Canon Perry, Mr. Froude, and other Anglican writers, lay great stress upon the incident recounted above, and quote it as evidence that St. Hugh rose superior to the superstitions of his time and was no believer in miracles. The keenness of the Saint about accumulating relics, which was carried, as we shall see, to such a point that he almost scandalized his own contemporaries, would alone be a sufficient refutation of this hasty inference. To myself, a careful perusal of the story of the priest of Jouy, as told in the *Magna Vita*, only suggests that St. Hugh shrewdly suspected an imposture, though he was too charitable to publish his suspicions without fuller evidence. No well-instructed Catholic, however convinced he may be of the reality of the miraculous powers enjoyed by the Saints, would hesitate to allow that the mediæval readiness to recognize a miracle in every unusual event also gave occasion for many deplorable impostures.—[ED.]

[3] 2 St. Peter i. 19.

the form of a little Child.[1] And this symbol harmonizes well with the other which specially belongs to him, and of which we have spoken before. The swan at his feet is an emblem of his purity and courage; the chalice in his hands shows the source from whence all his virtues sprang. It was from the altar, in very deed, that he drew the strength of his supernatural life; it was the Bread of the strong which filled him with undaunted courage; it was the Wine which makes virgins that inspired his angelic chastity. Supported by his devotion to the Holy Eucharist, he could rise superior to all trials and discouragements. We have a new proof of this which now claims our attention. It was at church, and during the Holy Mass, that Hugh of Lincoln was to gain his most splendid victory over Richard Cœur de Lion.

## Note to Book III., Chapter VI.

The reader who has followed the story of the cleric recounted in the earlier part of the foregoing chapter may possibly be tempted to ask whether anything is known of the revelations which are said to have been written down by the order of St. Hugh, and which afterwards, according to the *Magna Vita*, were widely circulated in England. It is satisfactory to be able to answer this question in the affirmative. The revelations exist and have long been accessible in print in an abridged form, though I do not think that up to the present time the name of St. Hugh of Lincoln has ever been connected with them.

In the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, and again in the *Chronica Major* of Matthew Paris, there is

[1] In the church of the Carthusian monastery at Pavia there is a superb rendering of this theme painted in fresco by Carlo Carlone. The Infant Jesus appears to St. Hugh during the Mass, the swan stands beside him, and above are a group of admiring angels.

given under the year 1196, a rather lengthy document which is described as a vision of the future state by a certain monk of Eynsham. In its general features the vision belongs to a class of which a good many examples were current in the Middle Ages, beginning with the apocryphal "Apocalypse of Peter" and "Acts of Thomas" in sub-Apostolic times, and culminating, it may be said, in the *Divina Commedia* of Dante.[1] Bede, as is well known, incorporates in his History two notable revelations of this kind, those of Fursa and Drythelm, and there were several others popular at a later date. In the actual lifetime of St. Hugh I do not know of any English vision which became famous except that of the monk of Eynsham, certainly of none that was anything like so widely disseminated. This fact alone might have been sufficient to suggest that the clerk who conceived himself entrusted with a supernatural message for St. Hugh, and who afterwards by his direction entered a monastery, may have been no other than the recipient of the visions which became so celebrated.

A nearer examination makes the case more probable. Ralph of Coggeshall, a contemporary, who also gives a brief account of the revelation in his chronicle, tells us that the Eynsham monk was "young in age though a veteran in regularity of life," and that he had but recently quitted the world for the cloister. Again we have to remember that the Abbey of Eynsham was in St. Hugh's diocese, and that at the date of these visions (1196), the Saint, as we have seen above, was brought into very intimate relations with the monks on account of the death of the Abbot in the previous year, and his own most energetic efforts to keep the abbey from falling into the King's hands. We may safely assume that nothing could have happened and no

[1] See Alessandro d'Ancona, *I Precursori di Dante.*

considerable document have been given to the world at Eynsham in 1196 without St. Hugh being aware of it. Lastly, we know that Adam, St. Hugh's chaplain, the author of the *Magna Vita*, became Abbot of Eynsham, and that he had also probably been a monk there before his elevation to the higher dignity. When, therefore, he tells us that he had *frequently* heard all the details of the story from the person who had seen the little Child in St. Hugh's hands, and when we find that the purport of the Divine message to St. Hugh is also practically the theme of the Eynsham monk's disclosures about the punishments of the world to come, the suspicion becomes very strong that the recipients of these two supernatural communications must be one and the same person.

An important piece of evidence which I have recently found quoted in Mr. H. L. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances at the British Museum*, converts this conjecture into a certainty. In a thirteenth century manuscript[1] belonging to our great national library, there is contained an account of the vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, seen by one Thurkill, a husbandman of Essex, in the year 1206. The author or editor of this account, as Mr. Ward has shown,[2] is no other than Ralph of Coggeshall, the chronicler, and he has prefixed to the narrative itself a preface in which a few comments are made upon some earlier visions of the same class.

"And yet another vision," he says, "has been clearly recorded which was seen in the Monastery of Eynsham in the year 1196; and Adam the Subprior of the monastery, a most grave and religious man, wrote this narrative in an elegant style, even as he heard it from the mouth of him whose soul had been set free from the body for two days and nights. I do not believe that

[1] Royal, 13, D. v. [2] Vol ii. p. 507.

such a man, so religious and so learned, would have written these statements until they had been sufficiently tested; he being at that time moreover chaplain to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, a most holy man; and Thomas Prior of Binham [in Norfolk], who was then Prior of Eynsham, and who examined the evidence closely, has since assured me that he feels no more doubt of the truth of the vision than of the Crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so much I have wished to say because many of the Eynsham monks decry the vision; but every revelation is doubted of by some."

From this most interesting statement of Ralph Coggeshall, we learn therefore that the Latin account of the vision of the Eynsham monk was drawn up before St. Hugh's death and by no other than his own chaplain Adam, the author of the *Magna Vita*. Can any doubt be felt that these were the revelations which were "set down in writing by the order of St. Hugh," after much converse between his chaplain and the monk who received them?[1]

To give any adequate account of the vision itself would be impossible in the space at my disposal. Curiously enough the only unabridged text now accessible in print, is an English version, edited by Professor Arber, from a very rare volume which issued from Macklinia's Press about 1482. The Latin account which appears in Wendover and Matthew Paris is very much contracted, and it omits nearly all those personal

[1] The passage in the *Magna Vita* runs thus: After telling us that the young cleric, becoming a monk soon after, *religiose admodum conversatus est*, the author goes on: "Cui plurima quoque spiritualium visionum mysteria postmodum fuisse revelata certissime experti sumus, ex quibus non pauca literis dudum de mandato sancti præsulis tradita, longe lateque vulgata noscuntur. A cujus ore hæc ipsa quæ modo retulimus frequenter audivimus." (*Magna Vita*, p. 241.) The *certissime experti sumus* must surely imply intimate personal relations between the writer and the percipient of the vision.

and historical details which form the chief interest of the vision, preserving only the account of the trance itself, and the more general descriptions of purgatorial torments and the scenes in which they took place. The Vision draws a very sad picture of the moral state of many of the clergy of the time, but in this respect it is in thorough accord with the statements of Giraldus Cambrensis and Wireker, and with what may reasonably be inferred from Papal pronouncements and the canons of the various provincial synods. Perhaps it may be interesting to quote the monk of Eynsham's account of the state of suffering in which he beheld some of those high personages well known to St. Hugh, whose names have been most frequently cited in the course of this history. And first for the King Henry II.:

OF A CERTAIN KING OF ENGLAND.

But what shall I say of a certain Prince and sometime King of England that I saw, the which in his life was full mighty among all the princes of this world. Soothly he was on every side pressed and pained, that a man might say of him, as St. John the Evangelist saith in his Apocalypse this wise: *Quantum se dilatavit et in deliciis fuit, tantum detur ei tormentum et luctus.* That is to say, "How much he did extend and magnify himself and was in unlawful lusts and delights, so much give ye to him torment and heaviness." Who is it that may conceive in mind what great pains all his body and limbs were smitten with? He sat upon an horse that blew out of her mouth and nose a flame black as pitch, mingled with a smoke and stench of Hell, unto the grievous torment of him that was set above—the which was armed at all pieces as he should have gone to battle. Truly the armour that he wore, was to him intolerable pain, for they were as bright burning iron is, when it is beaten with hammers and smiteth out fiery sparkles, by the which he was withinwards all to-burnt, and withoutwards the same armour burnt in full great heat, and loaded him that wore it with full sore burden. . . . In sooth he would have given all the world if he might have been

delivered from one spur with the which he was compelled to stir his wretched horse to run, whereby often-times he fell down headlong. . . . Thus cruelly was he punished for the unrightful shedding of men's blood and for the foul sin of adultery which he used. In these two things he deadly offended often-times, and those cruel tormentors, wicked fiends, full greatly with derisions and scorns upbraided him because he would be avenged on men that slew his venery, as hart and hind, buck and doe, and such other, the which by the law of nature ought to be slain to every man, and therefore some of them he put to death, or else cruelly would maim them: and for all this he did never but little penance as long as he lived. Also full miserably he complained that neither his sons, nor his friends the which he left alive and to whom he had got much temporal goods, did or showed for him anything after his death for his help and relieving. Nothing, he said, my sons and friends have done for me in these pains. . . . Truly I saw him somewhat eased and relieved of his pains only by the prayers of religious men to whom in his life for God he was full benevolent often-times, and thereby I understood specially that he hoped to be saved. Furthermore, besides all these things above said, full grievously he sorrowed and was pained, for because he oppressed divers times the people with undue taxes.

Let me add to this what the Eynsham monk tells us of the condition in the next world of another old friend of St. Hugh, Reginald, Bishop of Bath, the same who had first brought him to England from the Grande Chartreuse, and had been the constant friend and champion of the community of Witham.

OF A BISHOP THAT WAS THERE IN PAINS, AND YET GOD SHOWED MIRACLES FOR HIM AFTER HIS DEATH.

Now as I remember four years ago a certain Bishop was chosen to be an Archbishop, but he was then hastily prevented by death, and so deceased and left both. Truly this Bishop was inwardly in his living full well disposed, and religiously. For he was pure and devout in heart, and clean

of body, that by the use and wearing of a sharp hair shirt and other divers penances, tamed well his own flesh. He conformed his face and cheer, as it seemed, much after the behaviour of secular people, and to eschew and refuse the savour of vain glory the which is ever proud, an enemy to virtue; he showed always in words and countenance gladness and jocundness when he was withinwards contrite in heart and in his affections.

Also this Bishop used, as it is said before, to punish as well his daily faults by the which in great cures and hard things he had offended, as he did other sins the which he had done in his young age, by divers chastisements and often weepings. Also in his office of bishopry he had offended grievously in many things by his negligence, as other Bishops did, of whom I have made mention above. Of this Bishop I heard now openly by the saying of many folk that by him miracles were showed and done after his death on sick people and feeble. And I suppose it is truth that our Lord did worship His servant[1] with such benefits to give others example and understanding, that the hard and clean living the which he lived inwardly pleased our Lord full well, the which beholdeth only men's hearts. Yet found I him soothly in pains, remaining to him without doubt full great meed and rewards in the everlasting bliss of Heaven. And he that believeth not them, the which are in the pains of Purgatory, some time to do miracles in this world, let him read the fourth book of the *Dialogue* of St. Gregory, and there he shall see more fully an example of this thing, showed and done at Rome of an holy man that was called Paschasius, a deacon.

Very interesting also is the account given of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, and his severe sufferings in God's prison-house. The Eynsham visionary does full justice to his "meek conversation" and life of penance whilst he lived in the cloister as a Cistercian monk. But with his elevation to the see of Canterbury,

[1] It would be hard to find a better illustration of the mediæval meaning of the word *worship*, which has been a stumbling-block to so many. If Christ could *worship*, *i.e.*, honour His servant, Catholics need not be afraid of "*worshipping*" our Blessed Lady.

"alas for sorrow! the more thereby he grew in the sight of the people, so much he fell and decreased in the sight of God." Most especially he is accused of neglecting his episcopal duties and of omitting to correct the vices of the clergy. "Unwisely he promoted full unworthy persons to benefices of the Church, and also he dreaded and was ashamed to execute the law for (fear of) displeasing the King, by whose favour it seemed he came to that dignity." He is therefore represented to us as suffering very cruelly in Purgatory, but still he finds favour and mercy by the special aid of St. Thomas of Canterbury on account of his participation in the Crusade, and more particularly for the hospital for pilgrims to the Holy Land which he had founded in the East under the patronage of that holy martyr.

Finally, I may conclude these extracts by a specimen of the descriptive powers shown by the Eynsham monk when, towards the end of his vision, he approaches the confines of Paradise.

OF THE SWEET PEAL AND MELODY OF BELLS THAT HE HEARD IN PARADISE, AND ALSO HOW HE CAME TO HIMSELF AGAIN.

And while the holy Confessor St. Nicholas this wise spake yet with me, suddenly I heard there a solemn peal, and a ringing of a marvellous sweetness, and as all the bells in the world or whatsoever is of sounding had been rung together at once. Truly in this peal and ringing brake out also a marvellous sweetness and a variant mingling of melody sounded withal. And I wot not whether the greatness of melody or the sweetness of sounding of bells was more to be wondered. And to so great a noise I took good heed and full greatly my mind was suspended to hear it. In sooth anon as that great and marvellous sounding and noise was ceased, suddenly I saw myself departed from the sweet fellowship of my duke and leader St. Nicholas. Then was I returned to myself again, and anon I heard the voices of my brethren, that stood about our bed, also my bodily strength came again

to me a little and a little, and mine eyes opened to the use of seeing, so as they saw right well. Also my sickness and feebleness by the which I was long time full sore diseased, was outwardly excluded and gone from me, and I sat up before you so strong and mighty as I was before by it sorrowful and heavy.[1]

In the *Magna Vita*,[2] the author, Adam, tells us that the same monk had prophesied that Jerusalem in their own time would be recaptured from the Saracens. In this case, as in the more famous instance of St. Bernard, the prophecy was destined to remain unfulfilled, but Adam affirms none the less his great confidence that the prediction will be verified. "We trust the more surely," he writes, "because many other things which have been shown to this monk beforehand as about to come to pass, have to our own knowledge been realized in due course as they were foretold."

The name of this young monk, according to the copy of the Vision in Bodleian MS., Digby, 34, was Edmund, and this seems to have led to its being attributed by some ignorant copyists to St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury. Strange to say, it was to Eynsham that St. Edmund's father, a most holy man, retired with the consent of his wife shortly after the birth of the Saint, in order to end his days as a monk. He may possibly have known St. Hugh there, though he seems not to have survived many years. St. Edmund's two sisters became nuns in the convent of Catesby, a religious house probably founded in St. Hugh's time, and endowed by Philip de Essebi. St. Hugh's charter confirming the endowment is still extant.

[1] I have compared this printed English translation of Machlinia with the original Latin in MS. Cotton. *Cleopatra*, C, xi., and I find that it reproduces Adam's "elegant style" with reasonable fidelity. Several interesting editorial comments of his, however, are omitted in the English version. The Vision of the Monk of Eynsham is dealt with somewhat more at length in an article by the present writer in *The Month* for January, 1898.

[2] P. 242.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *THE KING IS CONQUERED BY THE BISHOP.*

IMMEDIATELY after the message from Heaven, which was confirmed by the apparition of the Child Jesus in the Sacred Host, St. Hugh lost no time in appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury for stringent measures of reform. He implored his Primate to occupy himself less with State affairs, and far more with the urgent needs of his diocese and the whole Church in England. To this earnest request St. Hugh added the force of example, and applied himself still more assiduously to the work of reforming the abuses he found existing among his own clergy. His zeal, however, only offended the Archbishop, and on many occasions afterwards he manifested his resentment against St. Hugh.

The threatened anger of God was not slow in falling upon the country. Terrible scourges devastated England. In 1196, after all the horrors of a famine, pestilence continued the work of destruction, filling all souls with terror, and causing many deaths.[1] Incessant wars continued during nearly the whole of the reign of Richard I., and although Normandy, and not England, was the theatre of these encounters, yet England suffered no less, as large sums of money were always in requisition, and the people were most cruelly taxed. Indeed, so tortured were they by these exactions, that an ardent demagogue, William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed

[1] William of Newburgh, bk. v. ch. xxi. ; *Annales*, Margan, p. 22, Burton, p. 192.

Long Beard, nearly succeeded in raising a serious rebellion in London. All the skill and eloquence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Justiciar, were necessary to defeat this conspiracy; and all his energy was required to obtain the punishment of the famous agitator, not without his incurring the reproach of having violated the right of sanctuary.[1]

Unfortunately Hubert was always too much preoccupied by the things of earth. As a mere secular administrator he was successful enough, and many of his reforms, such as, for instance, the adoption of an uniform standard of weights and measures, were of great utility to the nation. But as Primate and Legate of the Holy See, his thoughts were not sufficiently raised towards Heaven, and both the spiritual concerns of his diocese and the interests of the Church at large suffered proportionately. He gave a proof of this in the last month of the year 1197. The King had commissioned him to raise more money, which was urgently needed for carrying on the war with Philip Augustus, and the Archbishop summoned a general assembly of all the bishops and barons of England, to meet at Oxford. The proceedings began by a speech from the Justiciar, who enlarged on the King's necessities, crippled as he was in the prosecution of the war by the lack both of men and treasure. After insisting upon the disadvantage under which Richard lay in fighting at so great a distance from his source of supplies, he concluded by inviting all present to suggest some effectual means of assisting their Sovereign at this crisis. It was soon seen, however, that he was really in no need of suggestions, but had come fully prepared with a plan of his own. This scheme, which was laid before the council by one of his friends, was that the English barons, the bishops

[1] Lingard, vol. i. ch. xiii.

being included among the number, should raise a force of three hundred knights to fight for the King beyond the seas, and should provide the entire cost of their maintenance during twelve months.[1]

Then the discussion began. The Primate gave his opinion first, and, as might have been expected, accepted the proposition, declaring that he was ready to sacrifice his wealth and his life, if need were, in the service of his King. The next to speak, in right of his office, was Richard, Bishop of London; but he only echoed the words of his Metropolitan, and raised no opposition to the scheme proposed. At last came the turn of St. Hugh. He recollected himself for a few moments, and then spoke his mind as follows: "You, my noble lords, who compose this assembly, know very well that I am a stranger in this land, and that I was dragged from the retirement of a cloister, to bear the burden of the episcopate. But having had committed to me, in spite of my inexperience, the care of the Church of my dear Lady, Mary the Mother of God, I have made it my duty to study closely the customs and prerogatives, as well as the burthens and responsibilities, of this Church, and up to the present time, for nearly thirteen years past, I have been faithful in observing them, not deviating in anything from the just precedents left me by my predecessors. I know that the Bishop of Lincoln is bound to furnish the King with a certain contingent of armed men, but these armed men are to be employed within the kingdom itself, and not for service beyond the seas. What I am now asked to do, is contrary to the ancient immu-

[1] The author of our French Life credits Hubert with the rather astounding proposition that *each* bishop and baron should furnish a force of three hundred knights. As the knights were to be paid three shillings a day, the burden of maintaining three hundred knights in all was sufficiently grievous. —[ED.]

nities of the see of Lincoln, and rather than thus to fetter and enslave my Church, I am resolved to return to my own country, and to end my days in the desert solitude from whence I came here."

The Primate was furious at this answer, but he hoped at least that no other prelate would dare to follow the Bishop of Lincoln's example, and so, suppressing his indignation with difficulty, he turned, with quivering lips (*trementibus præ indignatione labiis*) to ask the opinion of the Bishop of Salisbury. "My reply," said the latter prelate, "is in entire agreement with that of my lord the Bishop of Lincoln. I could not speak or act otherwise without grave prejudice to the interests of my Church."

Then the Archbishop could no longer contain his anger. He addressed himself to Hugh, and after upbraiding him in the bitterest terms for his opposition to the scheme suggested, he declared that the council was at an end, and that the bishops and barons might return to their homes.

A messenger, or rather three separate messengers, were despatched to the King, denouncing St. Hugh as the cause of the failure of the Oxford assembly. Richard, as might have been expected, was greatly enraged, and straightway ordered the confiscation of all the property of the Bishop of Lincoln, as well as of that of the Bishop of Salisbury. In the case of the latter prelate the decree was at once carried into effect. He was despoiled of his wealth, made the victim of a relentless persecution, and it was only after a long interval, on the payment of an enormous sum of money, that he succeeded in making his peace with the King.[1]

The mandates directed by the King against the holy Bishop of Lincoln, were quite as urgent, but in

[1] He left England for Normandy in the month of February, 1198, and did not return until the following June. (Annal. Wint. 303.)

his case there was a stay of execution, resulting from the fact that no one dared to carry them out. The royal officials had a salutary dread of the effects popularly believed to follow the Saint's sentence of excommunication. They preferred to disobey the King, rather than run the risk of a sudden and terrible death. From the month of December, 1197, until the September of the following year, the officers of the Crown received frequent orders to proceed immediately with the confiscation of St. Hugh's possessions, but they always contrived to find excuses for delay, at the same time acquainting the Bishop with their embarrassment, and imploring him to go to the King in person in Normandy, in order to put an end to the prosecution directed against him.

St. Hugh at length yielded to their wishes, and set out for the famous Château Gaillard at Andely, where Richard then was quartered. On his arrival at Rouen, he was met by two of the principal nobles of the Court: William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was afterwards Regent during the minority of King Henry III., and whose daughter married the brother of that King;[1] and William, Earl of Albermarle. They tried to persuade the Bishop of Lincoln that it would be unwise to expose himself to the King's anger, and begged him to accept of their services as mediators between him and his Sovereign. They reminded him how ill the Bishop of Salisbury had fared, and expressed their alarm lest he also should be made the victim of the King's resentment. But St. Hugh refused the help they proffered. "I thank you," he said, "from my heart for your devotion, but I will tell you why I cannot accept it. You are necessary to the King in

[1] This incident does not seem to be referred to in the very full and interesting *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, now being edited by M. Paul Meyer for the Société de l'Histoire de France.—[Ed.]

his present trials and anxieties, for which I feel a true sympathy. To you, more than to any one else, he is bound by ties of gratitude; and for that very reason, I do not wish you to plead my cause with him. In his present state of mind, he will either refuse to listen to you, and be angry with you also, so that you will feel less zeal in his service; or he will listen to you, as a very great favour, and so consider himself absolved from any further obligation of gratitude. Therefore, you must content yourselves with telling him, from me, that I have come to Normandy expressly to see him; and hope that he will accord me an interview."

The two noblemen admired this reply, for they were capable of appreciating the spirit in which their offer had been met. They pressed the matter no further, but returned to the King and told him the result of their interview. Richard himself seems to have been impressed by the account which they gave him and, respecting Hugh as a foeman worthy of his steel, sent word to the Bishop of Lincoln that he would receive him three days later at his new castle on the rock of Andely.[1]

[1] There can be no doubt that this was the famous Château Gaillard. Before this nickname came into general use, Richard's new fortress was almost invariably described amongst English writers by the phrase used both in the *Magna Vita* and by Giraldus, as *novum castellum Rupis de Andeli*. It will be found so designated in many documents in the *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ;* besides which the only great rock near Andely is that on which the Château Gaillard is built. It is a puzzle, however, to think where the chapel can have been which is here referred to. William Le Breton, *Philippis*, bk. vii. l. 739, declares that the chapel of the castle was built by King John in 1202. There is a crypt, or underground chamber, still in existence, which tradition persists in calling a chapel, but it measures only thirty feet by sixteen, and besides this, the chapel alluded to in the *Magna Vita* was evidently upstairs—*vox ab editiori loco emissa*. The building of the Château Gaillard in a single year is, perhaps, the most stupendous known example of mediæval energy. No wonder Richard was proud of it. "I would take it," said Philip, "though it were built of iron." "I would defend it," said Richard, "if it were

St. Hugh obeyed the summons. On the feast of St. Augustine, August 28th, he arrived at the castle. He was told that the King was then hearing Mass in the chapel, and at once proceeded to join him there. The Bishop's chaplains followed him trembling, but as they mounted the steps leading to the door, they were struck by the words of the chant which reached them from within. The choir were singing the prose for St. Augustine's feast, and the verse rang out: *Ave, inclyte præsul Christi, flos pulcherrime!*—"Hail, illustrious Pontiff of Christ, flower of spiritual beauty!" They took it for an omen. It seemed to be their own holy Bishop who was greeted with this outburst of encouragement and hope.

Still more were they confirmed in this consoling thought when, as they entered the chapel, the choir continued: *O beate, O sancte Augustine, juva catervam hanc*—"O blessed, O holy Augustine, take this troop under your protection."[1] Doubtless, from his throne in

made of butter." And in the meantime the expenditure of money was enormous. Every time that the King looked round upon the prodigious mass of masonry with which he had girdled the great rock, his indignation must have blazed out afresh against the man who had successfully resisted his attempt to wring the sorely-needed supplies from his people in England. (Cf. Deville, *Histoire du Château Gaillard*, p. 41; *Œuvres de Rigord et de G. le Breton*, Edit. Delaborde, vol. i. p. 207; Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire d'Architecture*, vol. iii. pp 82, seq.)—[ED.]

[1] These lines are taken from the sequence, *Adest nobis dies alma et magno gaudio plena*, which is assigned for the Common of Confessors, in the Missals of Sarum and Rouen. It is curious, however, that the reading followed in the chapel at Andely agrees with that of none of the printed Missals. All the Sarum give *O beate, O sancte N., laus tibi et gloria*, or *O beate, O sancte N., pro nobis supplica*. In the Rouen Missal (1499) we find the reading *salva catervam hanc* instead of *juva catervam hanc*. On the other hand, in the Westminster Missal (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. ii. p. 1048) the same sequence is assigned for the Common of a Martyr, and here the readings are in accord with what we find in the *Magna Vita*. Probably the use followed by the clergy in attendance on King Richard

Heaven, the holy Bishop of Hippo listened to the prayer, and obtained a new victory for that city of God of which he wrote so eloquently and which he had so bravely defended.

At this moment, the chapel presented a striking spectacle. The King was seated on his throne, near the door, facing the altar. He was surrounded by a brilliant group of courtiers; amongst whom were to be seen two Archbishops and five Bishops—two of them sitting on the steps of the throne. In all the pomp and splendour of royal state, Richard awaited the approach of the man who for nine months had set his will at defiance. St. Hugh drew near and made his obeisance. The King glared at him fiercely for a moment, and then turned away his head without a word. "My lord King," said the Bishop, "give me the kiss of peace."[1] Richard made no answer, but

will have been that of Rouen. For the sequence, cf. Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, n. 438, where again the sequence *Adest nobis* is assigned to the Common of a Martyr. In the same volume will be found several "proper" sequences for St. Augustine's day, one of which, beginning *Hujus diei gaudia*, throws light upon a curious gloss noticed by Mr. Dimock, *Magna Vita*, p. 250, note.—[ED.]

[1] It would seem that much importance was then attached to this formal token of amity. In the Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury we find that the negotiations for a reconciliation between the King and the Archbishop in 1169 were all but wrecked over the persistent refusal of Henry II. to concede this mark of courtesy and respect to his former friend. Henry was willing that his eldest son should give the kiss to the Archbishop in his place, but refused so positively to do so himself, that it was supposed he must have taken a solemn oath that he would never receive St. Thomas *in osculo pacis*. Accordingly we have a letter to Henry from Pope Alexander imploring and exhorting him in the most impressive terms not to withhold this courtesy from the Archbishop, and intimating at the same time that he (the Pope) absolves him from his oath in case any such should have been taken by him. (*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, vol. vii. p. 206.) So it is common in the writers of the period to find them recording the fact that such and such distinguished men saluted each other *in osculo pacis*. It would be useless to multiply examples.—[ED.]

kept his face coldly averted. Thereupon St. Hugh drew still nearer, took hold of the King's mantle, and shook it, saying: "I have come a long journey to find you, and I have a right to a salute." "No, you have not deserved it," said the King. "Yes, indeed, I have deserved it," said the Bishop, "come now, I insist upon your giving me the kiss you owe me." And as he thus spoke, he pulled the King's mantle so violently that he fairly shook him. Angry as he was, Richard was not proof against so intrepid a greeting. He smiled at last in spite of himself, and gave to his conqueror the salute he demanded.

The witnesses of this strange scene could hardly believe their eyes. The Bishops hastily made room for the Saint to take a seat in the midst of them; but he shook his head, and went straight to the altar, where he knelt down, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and his whole soul absorbed by the mysteries of the Holy Sacrifice.

The King's eyes followed him, and found satisfaction in watching the humble recollection of his demeanour. Aided by the holy Bishop's prayers, he felt himself strengthened in new and happier dispositions. He would have been ashamed to be overcome by a powerful earthly rival; he could not feel any shame at being vanquished by this humble servant of the King of kings. It was like Cœur de Lion to wish to make public manifestation of his change of feeling. So when the *Agnus Dei* was said, and the celebrant gave the kiss of peace to one of the Archbishops, whose duty it was to convey it to the King, Richard, instead of waiting in his place, descended from his throne and hastened to the altar-steps. There he received the instrument of peace from the Archbishop, kissed it reverently, and then communicated the salute, not by means of the pax-brede, but by the contact of his own lips to the Bishop

of Lincoln.[1] It was as much as to say, remarks the narrator of this incident, that to the holy Bishop were due those marks of veneration and homage which were usually paid to the King himself.

When the Mass was ended, St. Hugh sought an interview with his Sovereign, and gave him in a few words the explanation of all that had passed at Oxford. The King had no reply to make except to throw the blame on the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, he alleged, had misrepresented the Bishop's motives. St. Hugh on his side, emphatically repudiated any unfriendly intent. "Saving the honour of God, Sire," he said, "and the welfare of mine own soul and thine, I have never once even in the smallest particular gone counter to thy wishes." Then Richard offered the Bishop of Lincoln many presents, and begged him to take up his abode in the new stronghold of Port-Joie,[2]

[1] The *instrumentum pacis*, or pax-brede (pax-board), was a little tablet ornamented with a representation of the Crucifixion, or some other pious device, which was used to transmit to the congregation the kiss of peace, taken from the altar, or in the still more primitive usage, from the consecrated Host Itself. The celebrant kissed the Sacred Host or the altar, and then pressed his lips to the pax-brede, which was given to those assisting at the Mass to kiss in turn. It would appear from the account in the *Magna Vita*, that the kiss was brought from the celebrant to the King by means of the pax-brede, but that the King, as a mark of special respect to St. Hugh, dispensed with the pax-brede and kissed him on the cheek. I am not quite sure, however, whether the words, *signum pacis*, refer to the material *instrumentum*, or are only the equivalent of some such phrase as "the symbol of peace." From the version of the incident given by Giraldus (vii. p. 104), who entirely agrees with the *Magna Vita*, we learn that the celebrant kissed, not the altar, but the Body of Christ.—[Ed.]

[2] Mr. Dimock, and other writers who have copied him, are mistaken in supposing that Hugh was lodged at the Château Gaillard. The interview with King Richard seems to have taken place there, as has been already remarked, but the *Magna Vita*, p. 254, makes it clear that the King invited him to take up his quarters in another fortified place, which was quite distinct—"a rege, hospitandi gratia, in castellum quod vocitabat Portum Gaudii, quod ipse recenter construxerat in quadam insula non

which he had just finished building on an island in the Seine, and of which he was very proud. He also asked St. Hugh to return the next day, to receive fresh assurances of his favour. The good Bishop consented, but was resolved to lose nothing of the present favourable opportunity which the softening of the King's mood seemed to have thrown in his way. Boldly taking Richard by the hand, he led him behind the altar, and there making him sit down beside him, he began to speak to him as a real spiritual father. "My Lord King," he said, "you belong to my diocese,[1] and I feel that I am responsible for your soul to God, Who has purchased it by His Blood. I want you to make known to me then, what is really the state of your conscience, that, as your pastor, I may be able, with the aid of God's grace, to help you by my counsels. You may remember that a year has already passed, since I last spoke to you on this subject."

The King probably had not forgotten the previous remonstrances of the holy Bishop, and was rather afraid of their repetition. He simply replied that his conscience was in a fairly good state, except that he felt a bitter hatred against the enemies who were endeavouring to compass his ruin. St. Hugh was not at all satisfied with this answer, and urged the King to a more thorough examination of his faults. "Your enemies," he said, "will easily be overcome, if you yourself are at peace with the King of kings. You have only one

procul sita, destinatur." The writer was with St. Hugh during all these incidents, and cannot have been mistaken in saying that the place was called Port-joie, and was on an island. In the *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, vol. ii. pp. xxxviii.—xlii., &c., published by Stapleton, we may learn all about Port-joie, and we find that it was primarily intended as a royal residence, and was connected with the mainland by a revolving bridge, which last was only completed in 1198.—[ED.]

[1] Richard I. was born at Oxford, which was then in the diocese of Lincoln, in the year 1157.

foe to fear, and that is sin;—the offences you commit against God, and the injuries you do to your neighbour." Then the Saint went on fearlessly to rebuke him for his infidelity to his wife, and for his persecution of the Church in the matter of canonical elections and nominations. "I am told," he said, "that you have no scruple in committing the cure of souls to men whose only merit is that they offer you rich gifts, or are your personal acquaintances. This is a grave crime, and as long as you continue to do such things, assuredly God will never be your friend." He continued with these fatherly admonitions, until he had clearly set before his Sovereign the duties of his state of life, just as he might have instructed any ordinary penitent in confession. Richard listened to him with respect, excused himself on some points, confessed his failings in others, and recommended himself to the prayers of the Bishop, who at length allowed him to retire, after giving him his episcopal blessing.

While the Bishop, happy in the consciousness that he had spent the morning so profitably, withdrew to the apartments assigned for his use,[1] the King returned to his courtiers, and began loudly to sing the praises of his devoted admonitor. "Truly," he said, "if all the prelates of the Church were like him, there is not a prince or a King in Christendom who would dare to raise his head in the presence of a Bishop." Coming from such a man as Cœur de Lion, the remark speaks volumes. No wonder that St. Hugh was known in after-ages as "the Hammer of Kings."

The day might naturally have concluded with this memorable eulogy. But some of the courtiers would have it otherwise. They advised the King to take

[1] We are told that Richard, knowing that St. Hugh never eat meat, had ordered a remarkably fine pike to be prepared for his dinner. (Girald, *Vita S. Hugonis*, i. ch. viii.)

advantage of this reconciliation, and to persuade St. Hugh to be the bearer of letters to the barons (*magnatibus*) of England, asking them to vote another subsidy. They said that such an unexceptionable messenger would ensure the success of his appeal, and that the Bishop would himself only be too glad of an opportunity to render a little service to his Sovereign.

"But a net is spread in vain before the eyes of them that have wings." When the new project was communicated to St. Hugh, he positively refused to have anything to do with it. It was of no use for his own clergy to unite with the courtiers in begging him to gratify the King, in a matter which would cost him so little. "No," he said, "God forbid that I should be guilty of any such weakness. Not only should I have to do violence to my own inclination, but I should disgrace the office which I bear. A Bishop is not a courier to carry the King's messages, and I will not raise a finger to co-operate in extortions of this kind. Do you not know, that when a King puts out one hand for alms, he holds a drawn sword behind his back with the other? Such monarchs speak fair at first and make many promises, but in the end they wring from their people by harsh constraint, not what the subject was willing to give, but what the Sovereign thinks fit to demand. And moreover that which in the beginning was offered freely and spontaneously, is soon regarded as a right and to be extorted by force. No, I will never meddle with such things. I might perhaps gain the favour of my King, but I should most certainly incur the anger of the all-powerful God."

So the courtiers gained nothing by this insidious suggestion. Hugh begged them to make the King understand that it was useless to insist; Richard yielded at once, and for fear of again being drawn into some false step, he sent word to the Bishop that he

was welcome in God's name to go back to his diocese, without any further delay, so that he need not even come to see him again on the morrow, as had been previously arranged. For this deliverance Hugh said a hearty *Te Deum*, and he joyfully set out at once on his return journey.

He had not yet arrived in England, when Richard gained an important victory over Philip Augustus at the Battle of Gisors, fought on the 28th of September. The English King sent news of his success to all his friends, amongst whom the Bishop of Lincoln was not forgotten. In the letter he wrote to St. Hugh on this occasion, he again recommended himself to the prayers of the Saint, to the efficacy of which many of his barons attributed the victory. Richard may perhaps have remembered that it was after the pilgrimage of his father to Canterbury and his reconciliation at the tomb of the martyred Archbishop that the news reached him of the triumph of his arms over the King of Scotland. For the time being, at any rate, the King was on the best of terms with St. Hugh, and it would have been well if his fickle and violent character had allowed him to remain faithful to the impressions of that season of grace.

## Note to Book III. Chapter VII.

The incident narrated in the foregoing chapter has engaged the attention of more than one of our most distinguished historians, and they seem agreed in rating very highly the constitutional importance of St. Hugh's opposition to the royal demands. "This event," says Bishop Stubbs, "is a landmark of constitutional history; for the second time a constitutional opposition to a royal demand for money is made, and made successfully; though it would perhaps be too great an anticipation of modern usages to suppose that the resignation

of the Minister [Archbishop Hubert] a few months later was caused by the defeat."[1] And again the same historian declares: "Whatever were the grounds of the opposition of St. Hugh, ecclesiastical or constitutional, . . . it is the first clear case of the refusal of a money grant demanded directly by the Crown, and a most valuable precedent for future times."[2] Not less emphatic are the words of Professor Freeman. "In a great Council held at Oxford . . . the Saint of Lincoln, grown into an Englishman on English ground, spoke up for the laws and rights of Englishmen, as Anselm had done before him, and as Simon did after him. When Hubert, in the King's name, demanded English money to pay a military force for the King's foreign wars, he was met by the answer that the Church of Lincoln and its pastor were bound to do faithful service to their lord the King within his realm, but that no men or money were they bound to contribute for undertakings beyond the sea. . . . The opposition was successful, one of the great principles of English Parliamentary right was established by the holy man who, in his own words, had been brought from the simple life of a hermit, to exercise the rule of a bishop, and who had made it his duty in his new post to make himself master of all the laws and customs by which in his new office he would be bound."[3] From these conclusions, Mr. J. H. Round, in an article which appeared in the *English Historical Review* for 1892, afterwards reprinted in *Feudal England*, seems rather inclined

[1] *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 572. The first case of opposition to the King's will in the matter of taxation, which Bishop Stubbs here refers to, was the resistance made by St. Thomas Becket in 1163 to the payment of Danegeld. As "Danegeld appears for the last time under that name in the accounts of this year . . . the opposition would seem to have been formally at least successful." (*Ibid.* 523.)

[2] Stubbs, *Preface to Hoveden*, vol. iv. p. xci.

[3] *Norman Conquest*, v. p. 695.

to dissent. At least he declares that the constitutional importance of the incident has been greatly exaggerated. But even if we suppose with Mr. Round that St. Hugh took the narrowest ground and acted solely on behalf of ecclesiastical privilege,[1] it does not seem to me that the lesson taught by his example, and by the result, that as a matter of fact the King's proposals had to be abandoned in consequence of the opposition which he raised, is any the less momentous in its bearing on our constitutional history. In any case, the answer returned by St. Hugh to the courtiers who pressed him to countenance the raising of a new subsidy or benevolence after his reconciliation with the King, makes it manifest that his opposition to the royal demands was by no means narrow and selfish, and that he had a sincere sympathy with the grievances of the people of England at large.

Of much more value, as it seems to me, is Mr. Round's interesting paper in the same volume, on Richard I.'s change of seal. By determining the date of the introduction of the new royal seal, which must have occurred in the spring months of 1198,[2] Mr. Round has leant very great probability to the suggestion that in the extreme financial straits to which St. Hugh's opposition at Oxford reduced him, the King had recourse to the desperate device of causing a new seal to be made, announcing his intention to repudiate all charters which had not been confirmed by it. It is true that "only a minority of the charters were ever

[1] I fully admit the value of Mr Round's citations from the Chronicle of Jocelyn de Brakelond as throwing light upon the scheme proposed in the Oxford assembly of December, 1197. The fact that Abbot Samson should have paid 36 marks for the support of his four knights for forty days, is in singular agreement with the three shillings a day mentioned by Hoveden as demanded by the King for their maintenance. (*Feudal England*, pp. 532, 533.)

[2] Between April 1st and May 22nd. (*Feudal England*, p. 545.)

confirmed under the second seal," but Coggeshall tells us that the sum raised by this expedient was enormous,[1] and it was probably only the King's death nine months afterwards which put a timely end to the exaction. We may perhaps hope that Archbishop Hubert's resignation of the justiciarship may have been brought about by his reluctance to take any active share in a proceeding which even his none too scrupulous conscience must have condemned as iniquitous.—[Ed.]

[1] "Accessit autem ad totius mali cumulum, juxta vitæ ejus (Richardi) terminum prioris sigilli sui renovatio quo exiit edictum per totum ejus regnum, ut omnes cartæ, confirmationes, &c., quæ prioris sigilli impressione roboraverat irrita forent nec alicujus libertatis vigorem obtinerent nisi posteriori sigillo roborarentur. In quibus renovandis et iterum comparandis innumerabilis pecunia congesta est." (*Chronicon*, R. Coggeshall, p. 93.) It is curious that amongst the comparatively few extant charters renewed under Richard's second seal in 1198, there is a confirmation to the Abbot and monks of St. Albans of the privileges previously granted to them, prohibiting from entering on their lands any minister -steward, butler, chamberlain, "dispensator," porter, or provost -against the will and consent of themselves or their successors. The charter of which this is the confirmation was first granted by Richard at Garcinton, on Sept. 17, 1190, when it was witnessed by Archbishop Baldwin, *St. Hugh of Lincoln*, and William Marshall. (*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. i. A. 1056).

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *POPE INNOCENT III.*

The interview between Richard and St. Hugh at the Rock of Andely is in some sense typical of the century which was to follow. It was to be an age when the rights of the Church would be recognized as they had never been recognized before, and when a succession of Popes would occupy the Chair of St. Peter, who would treat with the proudest monarchs of Christendom on a footing of more than equality. The greatest of these was the pontiff whose accession inaugurated the new era, even before the twelfth century had quite drawn to a close. Pope Innocent III., who was elected on January 8, 1198, stands pre-eminent for vigour and ability amongst all the rulers of his time. Both by the verdict of his contemporaries, and in the judgment of history, he did more to make the Papacy respected than any pontiff since the time of Hildebrand, and for centuries afterwards. In every quarter of the Christian world, and in every department of Church government, his influence was felt, and the impression which he produced was so profound that no lapse of time has been able to efface it.

In the early years of his pontificate, the design which Innocent had most deeply at heart was the restoration of harmony among the princes of Western Europe. Without peace in the West, the reconquest

of the East was impossible. It was not long, therefore, before the internal concerns of England and France engaged the attention of a Pope who had no scruple in saying: "Princes rule over provinces, and Kings over kingdoms; but Peter rules over all, by reason of the extent and fulness of his power; for he is the Vicar of Him to whom belongs the whole earth and all those who inhabit it."[1]

In the very first months of his pontificate, Innocent III. addressed an important letter to the King of France; and immediately afterwards, another to the King of England. To the latter he sent four rings of gold,[2] set with precious stones, and he expounded their signification in the following terms: "These rings are round, and are thus a symbol of eternity, which has neither beginning nor end. Let their shape remind your Royal Wisdom, to rise above earthly things to the contemplation of the things of Heaven, and from that which is transitory to that which is immutable and everlasting. Again, the rings are four in number. Four is a square number, and is significant of that even balance of the soul which is not cast down by adversity, nor too much elated by prosperity, being stable in its possession of the four cardinal virtues — prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. The first ring I would have you take as the symbol of justice, that you may keep that virtue ever before your eyes in your dealings with your subjects. The second should stand for fortitude, which you will need to support you in time of trial. The third represents prudence, which must be your guide in all difficulties. The fourth

[1] *History of Innocent III.* By Hurter. French Translation, vol. i. p. 275.

[2] One of these rings seems to have been given by Richard to Samson, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, who had quarrelled with the King and afterwards had been reconciled with him, something as St. Hugh had been. (See Jocelyn de Brakelond's *Chronicle.*)—[ED.]

temperance, your constant monitor in prosperity."[1] And from this beginning Pope Innocent goes on to explain the mystical meaning of the gold of which the rings were made, and of the various precious stones with which they were set. But it is hardly necessary to quote his epistle further. It is chiefly interesting as an illustration of the curious allegorical interpretations which then found favour with men of letters; and Richard, who himself dabbled not unsuccessfully in verse-making, will no doubt have been duly appreciative of the pontiff's ingenuity.

But the Pope had something more serious in mind than to flatter Richard's vanity or to gratify his taste for literary conceits. In other letters Innocent III. used every argument to persuade the Kings of England and France to give up their private quarrels, and cease warring upon each other, in order to make common cause against the infidels. He even threatened to lay an interdict upon the kingdom of that monarch who should refuse to be reconciled with his brother Sovereign. In this way he succeeded at last in inducing both Kings to accept the mediation of his Legate, Peter of Capua,[2] with the result that a truce was signed between them for five years.

During these negotiations the Pope did not lose sight of any matter of importance which regarded the interests of God and His Church. At one time he was engaged in warmly defending the cause of the unhappy Ingelburga, the divorced Queen of Philip Augustus; at another he protested in the strongest terms against the King of England's violation of the ecclesiastical canons, requiring prompt reparation for

[1] Innocent III. *Epistolæ*, bk. i. p. 206; Hurter, loc. cit. p. 117.

[2] The details of this negotiation are given with considerable fulness in the metrical *Histoire de Guillaume Le Maréchal*, Ed. Paul Meyer, vol. ii. pp. 44, seq. See also *Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 22, seq.—[Ed.]

the encroachments of which he complained; at another time again he turned a watchful eye upon the internal dissensions of bishops and religious bodies, intervening with happy results where he detected abuses, and showing a singular discernment in the choice of his representatives.

Among the various ecclesiastical disputes going on at that time in England, the only one with which we are immediately concerned is the long-standing quarrel between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of his Cathedral Chapter. The settlement of this important suit had been committed by the Pope to the care of the Bishop of Lincoln, and as Pope Innocent himself took a personal interest in the proceedings, the appointment is probably to be regarded as a mark of his special confidence in St. Hugh.

Hubert Walter, elected Archbishop in 1193, undeterred by the failure of his predecessor Baldwin, and by the singular fulfilment of our Saint's forebodings already referred to in an earlier chapter, had revived the scheme of a memorial church to SS. Stephen and Thomas, which was so bitterly resented by the Christ Church monks. The edifice erected by Baldwin at Hackington near Canterbury had been razed to the ground by order of the Holy See. But another similar church was constructed by Hubert in 1198 at Lambeth, on the south side of the Thames. Begun under the unassuming name of *chapel* this building bid fair to grow into a new Cathedral, a rival of the ancient Minster of Canterbury. It was a collegiate church, served by secular canons, for whom a permanent residence was provided within the precincts of the sacred enclosure.

The Canterbury monks were persuaded, and not without reason, that this new church was an encroachment upon their immemorial rights, and seriously

threatened the privilege which they claimed of electing the Archbishop. They, therefore, appealed to Pope Innocent III., who showed himself anxious to bring this long-standing grievance to a settlement.[1]

Accordingly, on April 24th, 1198, a Papal rescript was issued commanding Hubert to abandon his plan, to destroy the buildings he had erected, and to restore to the monks all the revenues of which they had been unjustly deprived. In the case of his resisting the execution of the mandate, his suffragans were ordered to refuse him obedience. It happened that shortly after these letters reached England the Bishops assembled at Canterbury for the consecration of the new Bishop of Coventry. They considered it right to lay before the Pope certain representations in favour of the metropolitan, and united in sending a petition asking for stay of judgment until the case had been more fully investigated.

Certainly St. Hugh was not prejudiced in favour of the Primate, but he did not refuse his signature to the letter by which this petition was conveyed. It is possible that in the profoundly respectful tone of its opening and concluding sentences we may trace the hand of St. Hugh himself.[2]

"To our Reverend Father and Lord Innocent, Supreme Pontiff, the suffragans of the church of Canterbury send greeting.

"We return thanks to the Giver of all good gifts

[1] The facts of this complicated dispute which are very imperfectly summarized above are given in detail in Bishop Stubbs' Preface to *Epistolæ Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series). I should be far, however, from endorsing the many reflections unfriendly to Papal jurisdiction with which Bishop Stubbs seasons his narrative.—[ED.]

[2] St. Hugh seems to have been almost as inveterate a punster as Pope Gregory the Great, and the play upon the name of Innocent is quite in his style.—[ED.]

who in founding His Church upon Peter foretold that his brethren were to be confirmed in Peter, and in his successors through him. Hence while we learnt with distress of the decease of Celestine III. of happy memory, the news of your election which followed upon it has dispelled the cloud of our sadness and brought back the longed-for sunshine. God has not left us orphans,—He who has raised up sons in the place of their fathers, and Nazareans[1] in the room of the Saints. We rejoice in His goodness that from your earliest years He has prepared you and endowed you for this sublime dignity (*ad tantæ mysterium dignitatis*), in such a way that, after God the welfare of the Church rests entirely upon you, and that those of her members who have grown sickly and diseased may under this Innocent whom Heaven has bestowed upon them be restored to their former health, and become innocent of harm."

The Bishops then put forward four principal reasons which have led them to believe that His Holiness in issuing his mandate had not fully been put in possession of the facts of the case, many circumstances having been withheld from his knowledge by the envoys of the monks. Then after insisting upon the willingness of the Archbishop of Canterbury to accept the Pope's decision whatever it may be, and after dwelling on the danger that the dispute may widen the breach which is already perceptible between the Crown and the clergy (*inter regnum et sacerdotium*) in England, the Bishops conclude with the following profession of their allegiance:

"It is for you then, most dear Father in Christ, to acquaint yourself with the true circumstances of the case, and then to decide as it shall seem to you expedient. Be assured that whatever you may determine

[1] Cf. Amos ii. 11.

will be carried out by the Lord Archbishop and by ourselves, with loyal and devoted affection. And if your Holiness should think our testimony for any reason unconvincing, may it please you to commit to any others whom you may select the fuller investigation of the truth, and upon their report to pronounce and determine what your Sublimity shall know to be the will of the Most High."[1]

The King himself wrote to the Pope to much the same effect, and he was supported by the Cistercian Abbots in England, who all spoke in praise of Archbishop Hubert. Innocent III. gave his consent to a new investigation of both sides of the question, but these further inquiries resulted none the less in a confirmation of the former sentence. In communicating this decision to the Archbishop, he exhorted him to submission in these kind and paternal words:

"Let it not distress you, dear brother, if our conscience compels us to act as we have done. God is our witness that we have been swayed by no motive of passion, but we have been guided simply by the duty which weighs upon us, despite our insufficiency, to administer justice in such a way as to respect the rights of all. We bear to your Fraternity a sincere affection, we look upon you as an honourable member of the Episcopate, and as a firm pillar of the house of the Lord, but we cannot give a verdict in your favour without grievously offending the God who created us."[2]

A few days afterwards, St. Hugh received a letter from the Pope, ordering him to see that the monks of Canterbury were reinstated in all the possessions of which they had been unjustly deprived; the Bishop of Ely and the Abbot of St. Edmund's being named as Hugh's assessors in these functions. There were many

[1] For the text of this letter see *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, Stubbs, p. 422.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 464.

serious obstacles to this complete restitution; and the Pope was not blind to the difficulties which attended it. Accordingly, on the following day, December 12th, 1198, he addressed a letter to the King of England, strongly urging him to make no opposition to the execution of the Apostolic mandate. Presumably, the King paid but little attention to this request, for a month later, January 11, 1199, we find Innocent writing a second time to complain of fresh aggression upon the immunities of the monks of Canterbury, who had again been deprived of their estates, on refusing to submit to a forced enrolment of the treasures of their Cathedral.

On this occasion the Pope spoke with so much firmness and decision that it was impossible to carry resistance any further. Archbishop Hubert submitted, and pulled down the church at Lambeth at his own expense. But he did not give the monks all they had expected, and far from being completely reconciled to them, he still clung to the scheme to which they so much objected, propounding it, however, in another form. Then Innocent III. addressed another letter to St. Hugh, and ordered him to try to bring the matter to a final settlement.

Here is the Apostolic Missive, which is dated May 18th, 1199. It illustrates indirectly the importance of the dispute and the confidence reposed in St. Hugh.

"To the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely and the Abbot of St. Edmunds.

"Between our venerable brother the Archbishop and his predecessors on the one hand, and our beloved sons the Priors and monks of Canterbury on the other, a grievous dispute has long since arisen in respect of certain chapels which the said Archbishops have persisted in erecting to the prejudice, as it is maintained, of the other party, and in this matter both our

predecessors and ourselves have been repeatedly forced to issue Apostolic Letters. But now that in virtue of a previous mandate of ours, things have advanced so far towards a settlement, that the chapel at Lambeth has been entirely demolished and destroyed, the Archbishop before mentioned, wishing to carry out the praiseworthy intention of his predecessors, proposes with our special license to found anew a chapel in honour of the glorious martyrs Stephen and Thomas, in which he may set up a college of canons endowed with prebends. This he assures us by his envoys and proctors, despite all the reclamations of the other party, is a right which belongs to him by the common law. He urges that the interests of the adverse party can be secured from any encroachment by fit and adequate pledges,[1] and he declares that this present design of his ought not to be in any way prejudiced by the sentence of demolition pronounced against the said Lambeth chapel, seeing that the work in question was condemned mainly on this ground that it was carried out after a public denunciation [2] of the proposed undertaking, after our predecessors had forbidden it, and pending an appeal which was entered to the Apostolic See. But on behalf of the monks it was contended on the opposite side, that seeing that our

[1] The pledges proposed by Hubert certainly look very satisfactory, at least on paper. Each canon of his new chapel was to swear that he would never attempt to assert for the College any voice in the election of the Archbishop, and that he would not connive at the translation of St. Thomas's remains to any other church, that he would not consent to the chrism being consecrated elsewhere than at Canterbury, and that he would never seek, or suffer another, to be released from this oath. The oath was to be taken at Canterbury, by each canon immediately after his installation. (Stubbs, op. cit. p. 531 ; Preface, p. xcv.)—[Ed.]

[2] *Post nunciationem novi operis.* (Stubbs, p. 491.) The explanation of this technical phrase *nunciatio* may best be gathered from the *Processus* printed by Bishop Stubbs in the same volume, p. 525. The references to the Digest show this to have been a plea in *civil* law.—[Ed.]

mandate to the Archbishop and to you concerning the restitution of fees, churches and other things, had not yet been carried into effect, and that the scandal connected with the affair had never properly been repaired, and that it was as yet by no means assured that no damage would result to the monks from the proposed scheme, the same cause for reluctance still existing, the Archbishop's petition ought not to be entertained. As these therefore and similar pleadings have been put before us in our audiences, we wishing with pastoral solicitude to consult the interest of both parties, and acting upon the advice of our brethren, have decided to commit the said cause to you, upon the understanding that before all else you labour to induce the parties to come to an agreement among themselves. And if perchance it should not please God to allow you to accomplish this, then we direct that, after complete restoration has been made to the monks of all that they have been deprived of upon pretexts connected with this cause, you investigate the truth concerning the matters of which we have spoken, excluding all appeals, and if the consent of the parties can be obtained that you proceed to pass a definitive sentence, taking measures that your judgment should be observed by both sides without further demur. Otherwise, you will faithfully set down in writing the proceedings in the case, and transmit them to us under seal, assigning a suitable day to the parties when they must appear in our presence to receive sentence, and if either of them neglect so to appear, we, notwithstanding, will proceed in the cause as far as we justly may. Furthermore we will and ordain that going in person to the place itself, you make inquiry into the condition of the Church of Canterbury both internal and external, allowing no appeal, and that you report fully to us the true state of the case and all that you may discover, so that upon

the information you supply, we may take such measures as seem needful. And this our decree shall be barred by no Apostolic Letters, except such as may be granted by the consent of both parties. And if you are unable to be all three present at these proceedings, let them be carried out by two of you at the least.

"Given at the Lateran the 14th day before the Kalends of June, in the second year of our Pontificate."

We will explain later on why it was that St. Hugh had not been able to execute the previous Papal mandate, and how he succeeded at last, only a few days before his death, in arranging everything according to the wishes of the Pope.

If it is distressing to witness a quarrel of this kind carried on between an Archbishop and his monks, there is also consolation to be found in the vigilance and determination displayed by the Head of the Church. There is surely something to edify in such words as the following, written by Innocent in one of his letters to the monks he was befriending: "Notwithstanding our unworthiness, we hold the place of Him who, in the language of the Prophet, delivers the poor from oppression, and helps when there is none else to help. Full of paternal compassion for your troubles, we make no account of the power which has declared against you, and to put an end to the oppression under which you groan, we have unsheathed the sword of Peter, and intend that justice shall be done. The only reward we ask of you, is that you will offer your prayers and your tears for us to the all-merciful Judge, that our sins may be remitted. Lift up to Him your pure hands, that we may exercise our Apostolic functions to the praise and glory of His Name, to the advantage of the Church, and to the profit and salvation of our own soul."[1]

[1] Migne, loc. cit. 417.

The monks of Canterbury were not the only Religious who derived benefit from the esteem which Innocent III. had for their holy state. Without speaking of the two great Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which arose during his Pontificate, and were encouraged and blessed by him, without specifying the innumerable monasteries which benefited by his protection, it may be noted that the Carthusians in particular always found in him a signal benefactor. Not content with confirming the privileges granted by his predecessors, he added new ones for the defence of Carthusian monasteries whose peace was threatened, and he himself, with many marks of special affection, founded the Chartreuse of Trisulti,[1] near Alatri, in the Roman Campagna. It is not surprising then that so warm a friend of the Order should have appreciated at their true worth the courage and sincerity of our Carthusian Bishop of Lincoln.[2]

[1] It had previously been a Benedictine abbey, and was founded by Saint Domenico di Foligno, but in 1208 Innocent III. gave it to the Carthusians. (See Moroni, *Dizionario Storico-Ecclesiastico*, vol. 80, p. 74.)

[2] Dom le Couteulx, *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 362. There are also three other letters from this Pope to St. Hugh : one on the nullity of a marriage ; one on a benefice being unjustly taken from an ecclesiastic ; and a third, on an involuntary homicide. (See Migne, loc. cit. col. 360, 850, 898.)

## CHAPTER IX.

### *THE AFFAIR OF THE CANONS OF LINCOLN.*

Towards the close of the year 1198, and about the time that he was commissioned to act as delegate in the affair of the Christ Church monks, Hugh again became involved in a struggle with the King, which ended in a royal decree confiscating all his property. We can scarcely understand how Richard could so soon have forgotten the salutary impressions he had received during his last interview with the Saint; and it was not very honourable on his part to accept a reconciliation when in the presence of the holy Bishop, only to renew the attack the moment his back was turned, and he once more had his monitor at a disadvantage. Left to himself, the King would probably have been incapable of such an act of treachery, but he had not sufficient moral courage to say no to his advisers when they talked of schemes for raising supplies. Richard would have done anything for money just then, so he eagerly swallowed the bait held out to him in this new proposal, the more so that it did not seem to be aimed directly at the Bishop, but only at the canons of his Cathedral chapter.

Just at this period, King Richard was in sore need of a certain number of able ecclesiastics who could suitably represent his interests in foreign Courts. There was Rome, then the centre of European diplomacy; there was Germany, where his nephew Otho, who had

just been elected Emperor, was soliciting the favour of being crowned by Innocent III.; there was Spain, where Richard was urging his claim to the dowry which had been promised him with his wife Berengaria of Navarre. Then there was always France, and other European kingdoms besides, with which England was bound to keep up some sort of relations. Of course these various embassies and negotiations entailed many expenses, and it was urged upon the King, that in selecting his ambassadors, he should choose men who had good incomes of their own, and would be able to defray from their own pocket the outlay which was necessary. In particular the canons of Lincoln were suggested to him as amongst the most distinguished ecclesiastics in the kingdom, who had the credit not only of possessing ample revenues, but also of being men of remarkable ability. It was foreseen that the Bishop of Lincoln would not at all appreciate the honour which was thus to be forced upon his clergy; neither was there any intention of asking his consent, for his refusal might be taken for granted. Accordingly, they again had recourse to the good offices of Archbishop Hubert, who, although he had recently been forced by the Pope to resign the office of Justiciar, was none the less willing to lend his aid in the King's dubious measures of finance.

Acting upon the advice given him, Richard wrote to the Archbishop, requesting him "to choose from the clergy of the Cathedral of Lincoln twelve canons, endowed with equal prudence and eloquence, capable of furthering the interests of their Sovereign, and of acting as his representatives, at their own expense, in Rome, in Germany, in Spain, or wherever they might be sent."

Instead of indignantly rejecting this despotic order, the Archbishop consented to take the responsibility of

it upon his own shoulders.[1] In accordance with the King's instructions, he wrote twelve letters,[2] under his archiepiscopal seal, to twelve of the most distinguished prebendaries of the Church of Lincoln. These he forwarded to the Bishop, together with a covering letter addressed to St. Hugh himself, wherein he requested his suffragan to distribute the despatches to those whom they concerned, and to bid them repair to the presence of the Archbishop, and thence to place themselves at the King's disposal in Normandy with as little delay as possible.

When the Archbishop's messenger arrived at the manor of Bugden, where St. Hugh was then staying, dinner was on the point of being served. Hugh took the packet of letters, and quietly opened it, without deigning to notice the supercilious air of the messenger, who was a Court ecclesiastic, full of arrogance and haughtiness. The Bishop, after intimating the purport of the letter to those interested, made no answer for the present, but sat down to table with his clergy. They, not unnaturally, were considerably excited, and exchanged comments in a low voice, wishing that the Bishop would overhear them, but not daring to address

[1] It is, perhaps, hardly needful to point out that the proposal of utilizing ecclesiastics as ambassadors to foreign courts would not in itself have appeared at all extravagant at that epoch. In fact, such functions were generally discharged by ecclesiastics. The point of St. Hugh's objection would seem to be that it was a serious injustice to his Cathedral church to deprive it of the services of so large a number of its most distinguished canons at one time. The duty of residence was one upon which St. Hugh strongly insisted ; see his Constitution above, pp. 155, 156. Moreover, in strict law it was forbidden by repeated enactments that ecclesiastics should mix themselves up in secular affairs. See, for instance, the 10th decree of the Third Council of Lateran (1179), or the Synod of Rouen (1190), cap. 9.—[ED.]

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 7. The phrase *duodecim paria literarum*, used by the biographer, offers an interesting parallel to such locutions as a "pair of organs," or the still surviving "pair of beads," and "pair of stairs."—[ED.]

him directly. What most troubled them was the fear that his answer to the despatch was likely to be an extremely stiff one, and they were inclined to think that in such a grave predicament, it would be better to adopt a conciliatory tone. In their idea, the wisest course would be to appeal to the Archbishop first, and get him to revoke the fatal order.

St. Hugh pretended to hear nothing, and was determined to seek no counsel from those who were so obviously under the influence of fear. He waited until dinner was over, and then at last turned to the haughty messenger.

"This is a new demand," he said, "a thing utterly unheard of;—and understand that I am speaking both of the request made by the King's authority and also of what my Lord Archbishop has added of his own. You may tell him from me that I do not intend to carry his messages for him. I have never done so in the past, and I will not do it in the future, just as I have never urged and never will urge any of my clergy to render feudal services to the King's Majesty. Over and over again have I interfered to restrain ecclesiastics, even when belonging to other dioceses, if they held benefices in my own, from placing themselves, as forest-justices or public functionaries of any sort, at the beck and call of a worldly following.[1] Some of them even, if they would not listen to the good advice I gave them, I have punished by depriving them for a long time of their prebends. How then could I possibly pluck from the very heart of my church the men whom I am now

[1] *Magna Vita*, p. 202: "In publicis functionibus ut est in distrahendis forestis et aliis in hunc modum administrationibus." This must be an allusion, I think, to something which we find referred to in Hoveden and Benedict under the year 1184: "On the death of Thomas Fitz Bernard, Chief Justice of Forests, the King divided his forests in England into different districts, and over each district he set four justices, two *clerics* and two knights," &c. (Hoveden, ii. p. 289.)—[ED.]

desired to send on the King's service?[1] Surely it should be enough for my lord the King that at the peril of their souls and to the neglect of the sacred duties they have taken upon themselves, the Archbishops have devoted all their energies to the management of his affairs of State.[2] But if he is not satisfied with this, well then the canons shall go to him, but their Bishop will come with them, determined to take his royal commands from no other lips than his own, and ready punctually to carry out his orders just so far as they are right and lawful.

[1] "According to St. Osmund's Institution of 1091, the only excuse for absence for *Sarum* prebendaries were archidiaconal functions, special study (*causa scholarum*), attendance as chaplain on the King (for one Canon), on the Archbishop (one), or the Bishop of the diocese (for three); and four months' absence might be allowed where it was a case of manifest importance for the Cathedral Church or the prebend. For *Hereford*, pilgrimage, Chapter-business, and studies are specified as ground for asking leave of absence for residents." (Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, vol. iii. p. 803, note.) At Lincoln we find the duty of residence clearly defined in a document which must have been framed not long after St. Hugh's time. (*Statutes*, vol. ii. pp. 143—150.) The obligation of providing a vicar choral, *i.e.*, a substitute to take his place in singing the Divine Office, is there declared to be binding on all who are absent for more than a third part of the year, and those who are absent for two-thirds of the year forfeit a seventh of the value of their prebend. I do not think that it must be for a moment supposed that these regulations allowed the canons to be absent for a third or two-thirds of the year at will, on condition of finding a vicar and forfeiting a certain portion of their revenues. It was assumed that their absence was brought about by some other ecclesiastical duty, *e.g.*, that they might reside upon their prebend or discharge the functions of archdeacon, &c. A great deal of information upon the question of residence may be gathered from the three volumes of the *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, and there is also an interesting account of the *Vicars Choral of Lincoln Cathedral*, by A. R. Maddison, F.S.A.—[ED.]

[2] In the light of the vision of the Eynsham monk, which was then probably fresh in Hugh's memory, it would seem likely that he was alluding here not merely to Hubert and Geoffrey, but to Baldwin also. "In sooth," says the monk in speaking of the last-named, "when he was Bishop of Canterbury, and also specially full excellent in cunning (knowledge) full little heed he took to his cure (of souls) and to the ghostly health of his people;" with much more to the same effect.—[ED.]

"And as for you, my good sir, you may take back home again the dozen letters you tell me you have brought, and a very good riddance both to you and to them. Remember only to repeat to my lord Archbishop every word of what I have been saying, and finally impress upon him that if my clergy are to go to the King as proposed, I go with them. They shall not travel without me now, as I on previous occasions have not travelled without them. It is a part of the right order which should subsist both between the good shepherd and his sheep and the good sheep and their shepherd, that he should not let them stray by heedlessly exposing them to danger, and that they should not quit his side to wander about at random."

The Archbishop's messenger was choking with anger. He would probably have replied with a torrent of insults and threats, but the Bishop interrupted him, and ordered him peremptorily to withdraw. Cowed and discomfited, he took his departure, and carried the news of his reception to Canterbury. St. Hugh, however, did not refuse to send some of his most trusted friends to the Archbishop, to try and inspire him with other views more in conformity with his sacred office. They besought him to pause before thus playing into the King's hands, and not to authorize measures which he was bound, in conscience, to condemn. Hubert appeared to be moved by these remonstrances, although he showed much displeasure at what he called the disobedience of his suffragan. He promised to second the protest of the Bishop of Lincoln, so far as he could do so without injury to the King's interests. And he gave St. Hugh's envoys to understand that he would do his best to stop the proposal from going further, or at least to reduce it to a more acceptable form.

St. Hugh put little faith in these promises, which the event proved to have been anything but sincere.

Only a very short time afterwards, in fact, instead of hearing that the King had withdrawn his commands, an edict was published ordering the officers of the treasury to seize the property of the Bishop of Lincoln. "Did I not tell you so?" said St. Hugh to his clergy. "After the voice of Jacob, behold the hands of Esau!"

Nevertheless, he determined to make a last appeal to his Archbishop, and set out for London. The only advice he could obtain from Hubert and several other nobles, was to get a considerable sum of money from his clergy, and send it to the King as soon as possible. "Do you not know, my lord Bishop," said the Primate, "that the King thirsts for money, as a dropsical man thirsts for water?" "That may be," replied St. Hugh, "but if the King is afflicted with dropsy, I have no wish to be the water that he swallows to relieve it."

He soon saw that nothing was to be hoped for from the Archbishop, and took the resolution of going to the King himself, as he had done on a previous occasion. So he returned in haste to Lincoln, to make his preparations, intending to start in a few days.

There was indeed no time to lose, for Richard did not seem disposed to allow his edict of confiscation to become a dead letter. The difficulty was, however, as it had previously been, to find any agents sufficiently bold to lay hands upon the Bishop's property. The first who were charged with this perilous mission procrastinated as long as they could; and then, not being able to overcome their terror, they ventured humbly to represent to the King the danger to which he was exposing them. To draw down upon themselves the malediction of the Bishop of Lincoln, they said, was to court certain death: for God cursed those whom His servant had cursed, and confirmed his sentence with the most terrible chastisements.

These considerations had no weight with the King. "Since our English are such cowards," he replied, contemptuously, "let us send Marchadeus, who will know how to deal with this Burgundian." Marchadeus[1] was a certain desperado, whom Richard had taken into his service as captain of his "routiers." He was noted for his savage ferocity, a man lawless and godless, ready for any crime or sacrilege, and the very person to carry out the edict of spoliation which had been decreed against the Bishop of Lincoln. But a courtier begged the King to think twice before parting with this worthy. "My lord King," he said, "Marchadeus is very useful to you just now. If he falls under the Bishop of Lincoln's anathema, depend upon it you will never set eyes on him again; and that will be inconvenient." The King was struck by this advice, and thought it more prudent to keep Marchadeus in Normandy. Yet, with a strange inconsistency, he did not fear to expose himself to the danger he dreaded for his follower. He persisted therefore in his decree of confiscation, and charged one of his knights, named Stephen of Turnham,[2] as he valued his life, to carry it into execution at once. Stephen was by no means an unprincipled man, and was even personally attached to St. Hugh, but he was afraid to brave the King's anger any longer. Very reluctantly he set about obeying the order, and without

[1] Marchadeus is mentioned by Hoveden and some other chroniclers of this period, *e.g.*, by the author of the rhyming *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal.* When Richard, after being struck down by the arrow of Bertram de Gourdun, generously ordered Bertram to be released, it was Marchadeus who, after the King's death, seized the unfortunate youth and had him flayed alive. Marchadeus himself met a violent death shortly afterwards. The form of the name commonly used by French writers is Mercadier. (See an article on this soldier of fortune in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* by H. Guéraud, series i. vol. iii. pp. 417—443.)—[ED.]

[2] Stephen of Turnham was a man of some consideration. He had been seneschal of Anjou under Henry II., and in 9 and 10 Ric. I. was sheriff of Wilts, as also justiciar and King's tallager in Surrey.—[ED.]

himself going to Lincoln, he sent a party of officers in his name, to take possession of all the goods and estates belonging to the see.

While these agents were making their way towards his diocese, St. Hugh himself was preparing to leave it. It was not that he sought to escape by flight, but he wished to see the King, and try once more to soften him. He announced his resolution to the canons assembled in Chapter. Before taking leave of them he celebrated Solemn High Mass, at the end of which he gave them his blessing, making use of the formula employed in days of old by the priests of Israel, and inserted in the ritual of Lincoln by his command.[1] "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee. The Lord show His face to thee, and have mercy on thee. The Lord turn His countenance to thee, and give thee peace."[2] Then he recommended himself to the prayers of each of his sons, embraced them all tenderly, and addressed them by way of farewell in the words of the Apostle: "And now I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace."[3] We can easily imagine the grief and emotion of the canons, who loved him so faithfully, at this parting.

St. Hugh set out, attended as usual, in the direction of the manor of Bugden. As he drew near Peterborough, his attendants observed a troop of men approaching, whose aspect was not at all reassuring. They were, in fact, the officers sent to execute the

[1] It was in some sense a peculiarity of the uses of Western Europe to provide a very large number of forms for the Pontifical benediction at the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass, varying with the feast. Great freedom was used in adding to these forms, and when new feasts were introduced into the calendar it was a common practice to add a new form of benediction, either in the Pontifical, or in a book specially consecrated to this purpose, and called a Benedictional. The form referred to above is to be met with in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson, C. 425, but it is there inserted in the nuptial Mass. (See *Westminster Missal*, vol. iii. p. 1237.)—[ED.]

[2] Numbers vi. 24—26. [3] Acts xx. 32.

mandate of confiscation, who intended to begin operations by taking possession of the Bishop's manor of Sleaford. They were, however, much more frightened of St. Hugh and his attendants, than the latter were of them. Turning aside from the path, the officers left the road clear for the Saint, but they found an opportunity to get a word with some of his attendants, and to them they made abject apologies for their errand. Nothing, they declared, but the King's terrible threats against their master would have induced them to stir in such a hateful business; but it was a matter of life and death for all of them, and they could not help themselves. Their excuses, as Hugh's biographer notes, were an echo of those of the third captain sent by the perfidious King Ochozias to the Prophet Elias. Then they went on to implore that the Bishop would withhold his curse and make his peace with the King, promising in the meantime that they would do all in their power to keep his property from harm.

Their words and entreaties were repeated to the Bishop, but they produced little effect upon him. "It is not for such as these," he said, "to take care of our interests. Let them go on their way, and do their worst. If they touch our goods, or rather those of our Queen, Mary, the Holy Mother of God, they do it at their peril." And so speaking, he drew from his breast the fringe of a linen stole,[1] which he always wore under his mantle when on a journey, and shook it, saying, "Be assured that this little strip of linen has power to

[1] The stole is pre-eminently the symbol of spiritual power and jurisdiction. This conception seems to have been deeply rooted in the mediæval mind, and is of early date. There is much intrinsic probability in favour of the identity of origin of the stole and the archiepiscopal *pallium*. (Cf. Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 370—380, and Grisar, *Jubiläum des Deutschen Campo Santo*, pp. 83, seq.) And how closely the latter is identified with the idea of jurisdiction, appears even as early as the sixth century, in the letters of St. Gregory the Great. The stole is always used in the administration of a sacrament, as also in exorcisms, excommunications, &c.—[ED.]

bring about the restitution, even to the last farthing, of all they may dare to steal from us."

He left the treasury agents a prey to their terrors, and continued his journey to Bugden. As soon as he arrived there, he sent letters immediately to the archdeacons and deans of those districts in which he owned estates, ordering them to call together the priests of the neighbouring parishes, and to pronounce solemn excommunication, with book, bell, and candle,[1] against those who dared to lay violent hands on the property of his Church, as soon as the King's agents appeared. The excommunication was to extend to those who had instigated, as well as to those who were the actual instruments of the spoliation.

Having thus satisfied his conscience, St. Hugh lay down upon his bed, and fell immediately into a peaceful sleep. That night he was heard to repeat his favourite *Amen* rather oftener, and more emphatically than usual. He seemed, even while unconscious, to be expressing his entire conformity to the will of God, and his conviction that Divine Providence would never abandon him.

[1] In English, the phrase "excommunication with book, bell, and candle" seems to have become stereotyped, but in Latin we find here in the *Magna Vita*, and elsewhere, no mention of the book, but only *pulsatis campanis accensisque candelis*. So, for instance, the decrees issued by the Council of York, held under the presidency of Archbishop Hubert, in 1195. (Wilkins, i. p. 502.) The ceremonies here alluded to were only used in the case of the *excommunicatio major*, or solemn anathema, and were intended to strike terror into the beholders. The candles, at the close of the ceremony, were thrown down and stamped out, and the form of excommunication prayed that: "As these candles, cast from our hands, are this day extinguished, so may his lamp be extinguished for ever, unless perchance he repent," &c. The bells apparently were rung during the earlier part of the ceremony, and then were silent; the idea being, according to Angelo Rocca, that bells being used to exorcise the devil, the silence of the bells was symbolical of a surrender of the excommunicated person to diabolical influence. (Cf. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, ii. p. ccxx.)—[ED.]

## Note to Book III. Chapter IX.

When we find St. Hugh, in this chapter as elsewhere, describing the estates of the see of Lincoln as belonging to our Blessed Lady, it must not be supposed that this idea was merely an ingenious invention of his, devised to throw a cloak of piety over his resistance to the royal demands. Hugh was speaking not only as the devout client of Mary, the Mother of God, but as a skilled and experienced jurist. I should like to quote at length the sections of Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, in which this subject is dealt with (vol. i. pp. 481—495), but I must content myself with a few sentences. "In the Anglo-Saxon land-books," say the authors, "this notion that God and the Saints are the true owners of what we should call 'church lands,' is put before us in many striking phrases. In the oldest of them the newly converted Ethelbert says: 'To thee, St. Andrew, and to thy church at Rochester, where Justus the Bishop presides, do I give a portion of my land.'[1] The Saint is the owner; his church at this place or that is mentioned because it is necessary to show of which of his many estates the gift is to form part. . . ." "There are human beings who are directing the affairs of the Saint and the church, receiving, distributing, enjoying the produce of the land. They are the Saint's administrators; they are the *rectores* of his church, his and his representatives." Or again: "Very often in Domesday Book the Saint is the land-owner; St. Paul holds land, St. Constantine holds land, the Count of Mortain holds lands of St. Petroc, Leofstan held land under 'the glorious King Edmund' (the martyr). . . . The church of Worcester, an episcopal

[1] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 1; Haddan and Stubbs, *Concilia*, iii. 52.

church, has lands, and St. Mary of Worcester holds them."

It is to this conception that we owe the term parson as applied to the rector of a parish church. Professor Maitland explains it well in the following words: "We have seen how Bracton laid stress upon the usual form of pious gifts; they are made in the first place to God and the saints; only in a secondary way are they made to abbots, monks, and the like. Now this idea of the Saint or the church as the subject of rights prevents the emergence of many difficulties which puzzled the lawyers of later days. Especially was this the case when the church was an ordinary parish church, with but one ecclesiastic in any way connected with it. That person was the rector of the church, and during his tenure of office he might be said to bear, or to be, the *persona* of the church." The parson, therefore, in a certain very intelligible sense, *impersonated* St. Peter, or St. Andrew, or St. Paul, whoever might be the patron to whom his church was dedicated. He acted in their name, and represented their interests. This was why St. Hugh felt himself to be truly the representative, the champion, of his Lady St. Mary, to whom his Cathedral was dedicated. When the estates belonging to the see of Lincoln were forcibly seized, it was not he, Hugh of Avalon, who was deprived of them—as far as he was concerned the King might take his goods and welcome—but it was Mary, the Queen of Heaven, whose rights were outraged, and these he could not suffer to be impaired in the smallest particular without a flagrant violation of his episcopal oath.—[Ed.]

## CHAPTER X.

### *THE CURE OF MANY POSSESSED PERSONS.*

St. Hugh made a short stay at Bugden, before resuming his journey to London. Whilst he was setting in order the affairs of his diocese, and otherwise making final preparations for his departure, he received a visit from a rural dean residing in the neighbourhood, who came to consult him about a reputed witch who lived in his parish. This woman was very much sought after by the superstitious peasantry. She professed to be able to tell when a theft had been committed, and who had committed it, and likewise to detect cases where magic was secretly employed. When the dean or any other learned and prudent man attempted to question or reprove her, she poured out such a torrent of words that her questioner was completely overwhelmed and reduced to silence. No one could stop the volubility of her tongue; she would always have the last word. "Very well," said the Bishop, "I shall be leaving for London in a few days, and shall pass through your parish: bring the woman to me then." The holy man, hoped, perhaps, to gain another victory over Satan his arch-enemy, who was, he felt, at the bottom of the many persecutions he was just then enduring. Nothing offends the devil more than the deliverance of an unfortunate creature of whom he has taken possession. For there,

where his infernal power has been most visible, his real weakness in the presence of One stronger than himself is equally manifested. At the command of a true servant of God, the fallen spirit is forced to release his prey, and to acknowledge his defeat; while those who witness the victory are also encouraged to avoid his snares and to resist him with a firm hope founded upon prayer and the grace of God.

Only a short time before this, when the Bishop of Lincoln was returning from London, Divine Providence had thrown in his way a person possessed of the devil, and we will relate this previous cure before that of the witch already spoken of. It was on a Sunday morning. St. Hugh had just arrived at Cheshunt, near Waltham Abbey. Nearly all his attendants had gone on in advance, and he was accompanied by only a few of his clergy. In the middle of the town, he was stopped and surrounded by a crowd of people groaning and lamenting. They implored the Bishop to give his blessing to a poor sailor who was cruelly tormented by the devil. One morning, as this unfortunate man was sleeping on board his ship, which was loaded with wood for London, he was seized by the infernal spirit, and began to tear his own flesh with his teeth and hands. His terrified companions, fearing themselves to become the victims of his fury, succeeded with great difficulty in securing him with ropes. They had at last brought him home, and he was now lying bound in his own house. The house was close at hand, and on the Bishop guiding his horse thither, the door was thrown open, and a terrible sight met his view. He was horror-struck, and dismounting quickly from his horse, exclaimed: "Oh, this is dreadful! This must not go on!" The poor demoniac was lying on the ground, his head was fastened to the door, his hands firmly bound to two stakes, and his feet to another post. His eyes

protruded and rolled from side to side; his mouth was distorted and twitching convulsively; sometimes he thrust out his tongue, hideously swollen; sometimes he ground his teeth, or opened his jaws so wide, as to display the whole cavity of the mouth and throat.[1] Those who beheld him might have profited by the sight to form some idea of the ugliness of the prince of evil.

The Bishop approached the unfortunate man, made the sign of the Cross, bent over him and placed his hand upon the hideous, gaping mouth, saying, in a low voice, the beginning of the Gospel of St. John: *In principio erat Verbum.* The possessed felt the effect of the sacred words and the touch of the man of God; the convulsive movements ceased, and he lay quite still, half opening his eyes and looking timidly at his charitable exorcist. The Bishop finished the Gospel, as far as the words, *plenum gratiæ et veritatis;* then stood erect, and silently gazed at the captive of Satan. The devil could not bear this inspection, and forced the poor creature to turn away his head and thrust out his tongue in an insulting manner. Hugh was indignant at this resistance of the evil spirit. He called for water and salt, blessed and mixed them according to the ritual of the Church, and sprinkled the possessed. He then instructed those who were standing by to pour some of the holy water into the mouth of the unfortunate man, gave his blessing to all, and resumed his journey. His presence in truth was no longer necessary: the evil spirit had fled, and his victim obtained the still greater grace of an entire conversion to God, which set soul as well as body free from the power of the devil. He spent the remainder of his life in making pious

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 8.

pilgrimages,[1] and died an edifying death a few years afterwards.[2]

St. Hugh was now to gain a fresh victory over his enemy, by curing the witch of whom he heard at Bugden. She was brought to him as he had commanded, by the rural dean, surrounded by a great crowd, in the midst of which were several little children who were coming to receive Confirmation. The Bishop dismounted from his horse and addressed himself, so his biographer tells us, not to the woman, but to the demon that possessed her. "Come, then, vile spirit," he said. "Let us test your powers of divination," and so saying, he stretched out his right hand, in which he held concealed the end of his stole. "Come, I say, tell me, if you can, what I have hidden in this hand." Whether the unfortunate woman was really possessed, or only a half crazy impostor trading on the superstitions of the ignorant rustics, no further exorcism was required than the Bishop's presence and his half-mocking question. The so-called witch, who at first had met

[1] In the middle ages this was quite a recognized means of livelihood. It was a common thing to give an alms to a poor man, which might enable him to make a pilgrimage to some celebrated shrine, and there pray for the donor's intention. Legacies for such vicarious pilgrimages are not unfrequently found in ancient wills.—[ED.]

[2] In the year 1219, when Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John, Abbot of Fountains, as Papal Commissioners, made inquisition into the alleged miracles of St. Hugh, with a view to his canonization, this cure of the madman at Cheshunt was one of the cases which came before them for examination. Amongst the witnesses was Adam, Abbot of Eynsham, the author of the *Magna Vita*, who had been present on the occasion. A copy of the report of the Commissioners, which was made the basis of the Legenda read on St. Hugh's feast, is to be found in the Harleian MS. 526. This gives the official account, and lets us see that the Commissioners were quite in earnest in sifting the evidence thoroughly. We learn from it that the sailor's name was Roger Colhoppe, and that among the witnesses examined were three men, whose names are given, and the sailor's two daughters, all eye-witnesses, as well as the parish priest. See also MS. Lansdowne, 436, and Cotton Roll, xiii. 27, the latter of which corrects one or two errors in the text printed by Mr. Dimock, Giraldus, vol. vii. pp. 188—190. Cf. *Magna Vita*, Preface, p. xxxviii.—[ED.]

his gaze defiantly, the moment St. Hugh addressed her, fell down in a swoon at his feet. As she made no attempt to rise, St. Hugh bade some of the bystanders attend to her, and when she was sufficiently recovered he asked her a few questions, with the aid of the dean, for the poor woman's dialect was unintelligible to him. She was too frightened or too bewildered to make much answer, but she confessed she knew nothing of magic, and begged the holy Bishop's forgiveness.

St. Hugh laid his hand upon her head, uttered a short prayer, and gave her his blessing. He then ordered her to be taken to the Prior of Huntingdon, the penitentiary of the district, in order that she might make her confession and receive a salutary penance.[1] Her conversion was lasting and sincere. The reputed witch dabbled in magic no longer, but rather gave herself to lamenting her past sins; and as she had formerly been bold and loquacious, so now she became modest and silent, to the great edification of all who had known her in former days.[2]

[1] No doubt St. Hugh would then and there have heard her confession himself if it had not been for the difficulty of understanding her. It has been inferred from this instance, and from another, to be mentioned a few pages further on, of St. Hugh's use of an interpreter, that the Saint did not understand English (see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. v. p. 891); but I must own that I agree rather with Bishop Stubbs, that the terms in which the need of an interpreter is referred to rather imply the contrary. "St. Hugh of Lincoln," he says, "who was a Burgundian by birth, did not understand the dialects of Kent and Huntingdonshire, but he was addressed by the natives as if it were naturally to be expected that he would comprehend what they said." (Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 616.)—[ED.]

[2] The account of this incident given in the French original has been condensed and somewhat modified in the present translation. Although St. Hugh's chaplain no doubt hailed the cure as miraculous, his plain and truthful narrative in the *Magna Vita* does not suggest that the Saint himself detected anything more directly diabolical about this so-called witch than the design to make a fraudulent profit out of the fears and superstitions of her neighbours. It may be added that in other parts of this chapter I have not felt bound to reproduce the exact words or the comments of the French biographer.—[ED.]

Long before this time St. Hugh had gained a certain reputation for his skill in dealing with the victims of diabolical possession. One day the Bishop of Exeter, Bartholomew by name,[1] and a prelate renowned for his learning, came to tell St. Hugh of a poor woman in his diocese who was most cruelly tormented by an evil spirit. She would never give consent to the tyranny of Satan, but resisted him by every means in her power. She confessed frequently, fasted and prayed, and practised many austerities, until her health was seriously affected by them. The devil ridiculed all her efforts, and continued to persecute her. Whether God allowed this to punish her for some previous fault, or whether He wished to try her, as He tried holy Job and many other saints, it is impossible to say. But the time of her deliverance was at hand.

St. Hugh felt the deepest compassion for the poor victim when he was told of her suffering. "Since this person," he said, "strives against sin by penance and mortification, I know of no other counsel to give her. Nothing remains but to implore the mercy of our Divine Redeemer on her behalf."

The Bishop of Exeter assured the Saint that he and many of the priests in his diocese had besieged Heaven with prayers for her deliverance, but entirely without result. "Do you intercede for her now, my brother," he said, "I implore of you." "Yes," replied St. Hugh, "most willingly will I do so; and every Christian should pray for her, from his heart." And kneeling down, he straightway poured forth his soul in one of those ardent supplications for mercy, to which God has promised never to turn a deaf ear. The prayer was efficacious, the woman was delivered, and lived afterwards in great repute for holiness.

[1] This Bishop died on the 15th of December, 1184. So that, if St. Hugh's biographer makes no mistake in the name, the incident that follows must have occurred while the Saint was still Prior of Witham.

Another similar occurrence, believed to be miraculous, took place in Lincoln Cathedral; we do not know exactly at what date. An inhabitant of the city fell ill of a fever, and when the fever left him went raving mad. Every one regarded it as a case of diabolical possession. So great was his strength, that it took eight men to hold him. In spite of the chains with which he was bound it was dangerous to go too near; for in his madness he attempted to bite all who approached, without excepting even his wife and children. One of his relations proposed to take the unfortunate man to the Bishop,[1] and the demoniac was accordingly brought to the Cathedral in a cart and the Saint was entreated to do what he could for him. Hugh, full of compassion, sprinkled the maniac with holy water, commanding the evil spirit to come out of him and torment the man no longer. The command was instantly obeyed. The sick man fell to the ground as one dead, but on being again copiously sprinkled with holy water, he revived and stood up sane and well. Raising his hands, which were still bound, to heaven, he exclaimed: "I thank Thee, O my God!" and turning to his deliverer, he added: "I thank thee, O holy Bishop!" Then they released him from his bonds, and he quietly returned home to his family, without ever afterwards experiencing a relapse into the same infirmity.[2]

## Note to Book III. Chapter X.

How far St. Hugh in the different episodes just recounted believed himself to be in actual conflict with

[1] This relative, Roger Fitz Warren by name, gave evidence of the miracle before the Papal Commissioners, in 1119. There had been other eye-witnesses, but Roger stated that they were then dead. See Harleian MS. 526, and Cotton Roll, xiii. 27.—[Ed.]

[2] *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 80; *Vita Metrica*, vv. 1088—1106. This miracle is not given in the *Magna Vita*, but is printed in Giraldus, vii. p. 179.

the spirit of evil, does not appear quite clearly from the pages of the *Magna Vita*. We cannot safely assume that his point of view was necessarily that of his biographer. That St. Hugh believed in diabolical possession is beyond all possible doubt, just as it is beyond a doubt that he believed in miracles.[1] But the most unhesitating conviction of the possibility of these preternatural occurrences in the abstract, is quite consistent with an attitude of caution as to the acceptance of any individual miracle or any individual case of possession. It was certainly characteristic of our Saint not to be over-credulous. Several details in the Life illustrate his independence of judgment in such matters, and over and above these incidents themselves we have the explicit statement of his biographer, who seems to have been a man of a somewhat different complexion and to have been more inclined than his patron to cultivate an appetite for the marvellous. Here at any rate is the testimony of Abbot Adam, as it may be read in the prologue to the third book of the *Magna Vita*.

"In recounting," he writes, "the history of his life as a Bishop, we shall not seek so much to excite superfluously the wonder of those who may read or listen to our narrative, as to set out things holy and wholesome for the edification of those who desire to know and to imitate them. For in this matter also the

[1] The reader may be reminded of the miraculous vision of Prior Basil, by which St. Hugh believed himself to have been cured of a violent temptation of the flesh (*Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. 2; supra, p. 72), a vision which he narrated more than once to his chaplain, and especially in great detail just before his death. Again, it is clear that the Saint thoroughly approved and believed in the miraculous occurrences attending the vision of the monk of Eynsham (supra, p. 351), so again in the story of the crusader knight of Maurienne (*Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 12), which he was fond of telling, he dwelt upon the sweet odour with which the knight was preternaturally consoled every day at the same hour. Of St. Hugh's extraordinary keenness in collecting and venerating relics we have yet to speak.

Blessed Hugh had perfectly imbibed the sober and humble spirit of the founders of the Carthusian Order, so that there was nothing he seemed less to appreciate or to be keen about than miracles and wonders. It is true that when he heard or knew such things about saintly men he used very pleasantly to relate them, and he regarded miracles with the deepest veneration; but he recounted them chiefly to enhance the glory of those who did these marvels and to spur on those who were moved by the hearing of them. For his own part, the one miracle which impressed him, the one example which roused him to imitation, was the holiness of the saints in itself. What took the place of all other miracles for him, was the simple remembrance deep down in his heart of the God who had made him, and of the stupendous and inexhaustible multitude of His good gifts to men."[1]

It will be noticed that St. Hugh's biographer is very far from saying that the Saint disbelieved in miracles in general, or even was sceptical and hard to convince in the case of any particular miracle. On the contrary, he declares that he recounted such things readily when he saw that others were helped by them, but none the less he himself was so deeply impressed with the daily miracle of God's love for man and the miracles of grace and the sacraments, that he had little temptation to run after more vulgar marvels which might or might not be vitiated by fraud or imposture.

With regard to the treatment of the poor sufferers brought to St. Hugh, whether he considered them as demoniacs or simply as insane, it may be said that the methods he employed to cure them were those universally in use at that epoch. As the learned Bollandist, Father Victor de Buck, points out, hardly any attempt was made in the middle ages to distinguish between

[1] *Magna Vita* (Rolls Series), p. 97.

lunatics and possessed persons.[1] The exorcisms, the copious use of holy water, the fasting and the binding in church, the laying of the stole upon their heads or necks, the reading over them of Gospels, &c., were practices adopted almost indifferently in all such cases. The reading of a Gospel over the sick, and more particularly of the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, *In principio erat Verbum*, &c., seems to have been the most favourite remedy of all. Even to this day it is common for the Irish peasantry to ask to have a Gospel read,[2] and, indeed, it is prescribed in the *Rituale Romanum*, in the section "De Visitatione et Cura Infirmorum." The practice seems to be as old as the time of St. Augustine. Many examples might be quoted from the lives of the saints. I will be content to recall that of St. Yvo of Tréguier, who put a reputed demoniac into a bed near his own, and cured him by sprinkling him with holy water and reading over him the Gospel of St. John. Just at this period in England there seems to have been quite a *furore*, if one may use such a word in this connection, for having Gospels read, and especially additional Gospels to be read by the priest at the altar during or after Mass. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, tells many curious stories of the extravagant lengths to which this practice of "multiplying Gospels" was carried. It was fostered by the cupidity of some unworthy members

[1] An admirable little dissertation will be found on this subject in the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 58, pp. 852–856. Father de Buck's remarks are suggested by a reference to the Shrine of St. Florentinus at Bonnet, which was formerly a great place of resort for the cure of mad people.

[2] The reading of Gospels over the sick seems to have been a prominent feature of Celtic Christianity everywhere. The Stowe Missal gives an "Ordo ad visitandum infirmum," in which two extracts from the Gospels are found. In the Book of Deer also, and some other similar collections, a form of Communion for the Sick occurs bound up with a number of Gospels.

of the clergy, who used to exact an offering for the Gospels thus added to the Mass for various private intentions. One of Giraldus' stories has reference to St. Hugh, and is told in these words:[1]

"Likewise that venerable man, Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, when passing by a certain parish church on one occasion, went in to hear Mass, and found the priest celebrating the Holy Mysteries for his parishioners. After the Communion and the *Ite missa est*, straightway the priest began to multiply Gospels in this manner. First, *Initium sancti evangelii*, then, *Spiritus Domini*, after that, *Salve sancta parens*,[2] with other things which were nothing to the purpose. When the Bishop had heard this, he remarked humorously: 'What will the poor man have to say to-morrow, since he has given us all he knows to-day?'"

Giraldus adds that when those who favoured the multiplying of Gospels were taken to task about it, they alleged in reply: "That they have a curative virtue and that evil dreams are put to flight by them, especially by the beginning of St. John."[3] It will be noticed further on, that on one occasion when St. Hugh's travelling companions wanted to hurry him away at an early hour, they pressed him not to celebrate Mass, but to be content with hearing a Gospel read instead. As might have been expected, St. Hugh refused to accept this as a substitute for the Holy Sacrifice.—[Ed.]

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 129. The section of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* in which this story occurs is entitled: "Quod non sunt evangelia multiplicanda."

[2] The point seems to be that the priest pretended to be reading fresh Gospels, when he was really saying by heart all the scraps of the liturgy which he happened to remember, and which of course were not extracts from the Gospel at all.

[3] "Quia medicina est et phantasma fugat, præcipue Johannis initium."

## CHAPTER XI.

### *PROVIDENTIAL CONSOLATIONS.*

On the day after his interview with the supposed witch, of whom he had heard at Bugden, the Bishop of Lincoln, resuming his journey, passed through the territory of St. Albans. That celebrated abbey, with its estates and dependencies, had been exempted from episcopal jurisdiction some forty years before, though the county of Hertfordshire, in which it lay, still formed part of the Lincoln diocese.[1] Within the abbey franchises St. Hugh chanced to come upon a melancholy procession. It was a thief, condemned to death, his hands tied behind his back, whom a party of apparitors were leading to the gallows.

When they caught sight of the holy Bishop, they all hastened towards him to receive his blessing. Their prisoner was quite as anxious as any of them to solicit this favour, for there suddenly entered into his heart the hope of life and freedom. He threw himself down on his knees, almost under the hoofs of the horse the Bishop was riding, uttering piteous cries and begging for mercy. The Saint promptly drawing bridle asked who the man was, and what he wanted. His attendants, who knew their master well, were in consternation. If

[1] It was under Bishop Robert of Chesney that the Abbey of St. Albans ceased to belong to the diocese of Lincoln. Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 128—158; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vol. iv. pp. 94—98. See also *Monastic. Anglic.* vol. i. p. 176, and Mabillon, vol. ii. p. 298, and vol. iv. p. 672.

his compassion were aroused he was capable of any rashness in order to secure the unfortunate man's release. "My lord," they said to him, "it is not a case which concerns your Holiness in any way. Don't trouble about him, but continue your journey." But this was not the way of the holy Bishop. He insisted upon examining into the cause of this unexpected client, and when all had been explained to him, "God bless us!" he exclaimed (*Eja! Benedictus Deus*); "this is a bad business." Then addressing the officers who were taking the thief to execution: "My children," he said, "do you return with me to the town. I mean to take charge of your prisoner myself. You may tell your chiefs and the judges that it is I who have taken him from you. I will see that you are held guiltless in this matter." The guards dared not disobey; they released their prisoner, and the Bishop immediately ordered his hands to be untied, giving him into the care of his almoner. Then the two escorts, that of the Bishop and that of the condemned man, amalgamated and marched side by side into the little town. It was a strange spectacle for the good citizens. Was the holy Bishop then so persecuted that he had just been arrested by the King's troops? Or was this armed force in the service of the illustrious prelate? The enigma was soon made clear to the astonished crowd, who gathered in the streets to see what was passing. They understood what must have occurred, when they perceived the criminal, now unbound, walking cheerfully along with the rest. Certainly he was not yet completely delivered, but he had every reason for confidence in his protector.

No sooner had St. Hugh entered the inn,[1] than all

[1] We are probably right in translating *hospitium* as "inn." It is not likely that St. Hugh would have attempted to find a lodging at the abbey, if there is any truth in the story told above on p. 299. On the other hand,

his own people came round him and entreated him to allow justice to take its course. "My lord," they said, "up to the present time, neither the King nor any one else among your enemies have been able to reproach you with any real offence. They have not even a decent pretext for proceeding against you. But if you take it upon yourself to annul by your Pontifical authority a sentence of the justices formally passed in the King's court and in actual process of execution, then all who are ill-disposed will declare that you have attacked the Crown itself, and that you are guilty of high treason."

St. Hugh's only reply was: "Is this all the courage and generosity that you are capable of? Go and tell the judges to come to me; you shall hear what they will say to me, and what answer I shall make."

The judges, in fact, had already arrived, and were asking for an audience with the Bishop. They were ushered into his presence. St. Hugh made them sit down, and then spoke as follows: "You are all learned men, and I am sure you are aware of the privilege enjoyed by our Holy Mother Church, in every part of the Christian world;—I mean, the right of sanctuary, by virtue of which she is able to protect all condemned or proscribed persons, who fly to her for refuge."

one of the points specially insisted upon in the Papal letters of exemption, is the release of all churches dependent upon the abbey from parochial visitations by the Bishop and from all exactions connected therewith. The burdens thus laid upon poor parish priests were often very great. Only a few years before, at the third Council of Lateran (1179), an effort had been made to curtail the retinues which Bishops and other officials were in the habit of taking with them, for whom the parish was expected to provide. An Archbishop was not to be attended by a party of more than forty or fifty, a Bishop by not more than twenty or thirty. Even this retinue must have seemed formidable enough to those who were expected to furnish entertainment for the men and fodder for their horses. In the little town of St. Albans, within the abbey franchises, the Bishop of Lincoln had no claim to "procurations" or hospitality of any sort. He will therefore probably have lodged at an inn, if such was to be found.—[ED.]

"Yes," replied the judges, "we readily admit that the right of sanctuary must always be respected."

"Then," continued St. Hugh, "you will also allow that wherever the Bishop is, in the midst of an assembly of the faithful, there is the Church. He who both consecrates the material stones of the sacred edifice, and who sanctifies the living stones also of which the Church of Christ is still more truly built up, by the administration of those sacraments, which convert men into the temples of the Most High, such a one, I say, wherever he is present, ought to enjoy all those privileges which the Church can claim, and ought to be a living sanctuary for all those who may appeal to his protection."

The judges, according to the testimony of Hugh's chaplain, took it all in good part and made no protest. "Indeed they remembered," he says, "that this doctrine was expressed in the ancient laws of the English, although it had latterly fallen into disuse through the supineness of the Bishops or the tyranny of Kings."[1] But whatever the original privilege may have been, it was a bold step just then to revive it, and we cannot be surprised that the justices, after consulting amongst themselves, answered St. Hugh somewhat nervously:

"My Lord," they said, "we are your sons and members of your flock; you are our Father and our Pastor. We do not wish therefore to contend with you or to dispute your prerogative, and you on your part we are certain would be unwilling to expose us to grave danger. You may set our prisoner free; we will do nothing to oppose it; only we trust to you to take the responsibility of the act, and to secure us from the anger of the King." St. Hugh did not forget that he was himself in disgrace, but he made not the least

[1] *Magna Vita*, p. 278.

demur about compromising himself still more, for the sake of this unfortunate client of his.

"You have spoken honourably and straightforwardly," he answered the judges. "Be it understood therefore that I have forcibly rescued the prisoner from out of your hands, and for this violent act of mine I am prepared to render an account whenever it shall be necessary."

The judges retired, and the thief accompanied St. Hugh to London. He escaped all punishment, and was allowed by the Bishop to depart whithersoever he would. We do not know if his after-life did honour to his saintly protector; but we may reasonably hope that a sincere conversion was the fruit of the great act of charity shown to him.

For some reason or other, no notice seems to have been taken in London of Hugh's interference with the course of justice. Shortly after his arrival the Bishop of Lincoln paid a visit to the Barons of the Exchequer, wishing, it would seem, to appeal to them to prevent any rapine or devastation being done to the property of his see, more especially during his absence. By the Barons assembled in conclave he was received with marked consideration and respect. They rose to salute him, promised that they would do all in their power to save his estates—now presumably in their keeping as a consequence of the confiscation—from waste or injury, and courteously besought him to be seated for a while beside them at the famous chequer-board,[1] from which the court derived its name.

Hugh made some difficulty at first, but eventually allowed himself to be persuaded, and took a seat.

[1] It was a long rectangular table, as we learn from the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, measuring ten feet by five. It was covered with a cloth marked out into compartments, something like a chess-board, and intended to facilitate the primitive arithmetical computations of those days.—[Ed.]

Then the officials clapped their hands in triumph. "Come now, my Lord," they said, "this *is* a victory. All our lives long we shall be able to boast that we have seen the Bishop of Lincoln sitting at the board of the King's Exchequer."[1]

Hugh felt that he had been entrapped. He coloured a little at the pleasantry and rose immediately. Still he saw that it was best to treat the misadventure as a jest, and his ready wit suggested a way of extricating himself from his embarrassment. Turning to the Barons he embraced each one of them in order, as if to take his leave, and then said quietly: "And I also shall be able to boast of a victory over you, if after you have yielded me the kiss of peace, you take any unfriendly action against my Church."

Hugh's quickness in turning the tables on those who were bantering him, seems to have impressed the Barons profoundly, "Oh, what a clever move of his," they said to one another, "see how neatly he has tied our hands, so that even though we act by the King's order, we cannot without deep disgrace take any active

[1] "Jam," inquiunt "triumphaliter gaudere valebimus, qui diem vidimus quo ad regis scaccarium Lincolniensis sedit episcopus." The main point of the jest seems to lie in this, that *sedere ad scaccarium* was a technical phrase used of those who were permanently and officially connected with the Exchequer. "*Sitting* at the Exchequer," says Madox (*History*, vol. i. p. 197), "is here to be understood of the Barons, or superior officers, whose service or attendance there was commonly during this period signified by the phrase *sedendi ad scaccarium*." (Cf. *Dialogus de Scaccario*, bk. i. ch. 8.) It would seem that St. Hugh had always steadily set his face against ecclesiastics, and notably Bishops, devoting themselves so entirely to secular business as the Barons of the Exchequer were forced to do. In this particular year of St. Hugh's visit we find named amongst the Barons, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey FitzPeter, the Justiciar, Philip, Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of London, Simon de Pateshull, Henry de Winchenton, Benedict the Jew of Talamunt, and Joseph Aaron—the last two being described as *Justiciarii Judæorum*. There were probably other Barons besides these, but these are all the names that appear in the list given by Madox. (vol. ii. p. 315.)—[ED.]

step against him." Then St. Hugh gave them all his blessing and withdrew, and a few days after crossed the Channel on his way to join the King in Normandy.

Before he quitted England, however, yet another consolation awaited him at Rochester. As he was passing through this town, he crossed the bridge over the River Medway, and there met an unfortunate young man who, as he afterwards discovered, had formed a desperate resolution of committing suicide. When he saw the Bishop, the youth found courage to address him, and by means of an interpreter, eventually revealed his sad history. He had led a very wicked life, heaping sin upon sin, until one day he heard a sermon upon the grievous offence of God, and upon the special vice which had been his ruin. The burning words of the preacher filled him with shame and horror of himself. "I thought," he said, "that the earth would open at my feet, and that I should instantly be swallowed up in Hell. The whole of that day, and far into the night, I shed tears of anguish. Towards morning, worn out with fatigue, I fell into a short sleep. It was then that I saw before me a Lady of ineffable beauty, who consoled me in these words: 'Poor child! do not give way to despair. Think of the mercy and power of my Son, who wishes not that any one should perish eternally. Arise, and go to a priest whom thou knowest, and make to him a true and entire confession of all thy sins.'"

The youth obeyed, and set out to find a priest, but he had not taken many steps when despair again seized him, and an old man of hideous aspect, whom he afterwards believed to have been no other than Satan himself, met him, and insinuated that suicide was the only thing left for one who had committed so many grievous sins. This terrible thought had already suggested itself to the unhappy man; and he now

forgot the consoling vision of the Mother of Mercy, and listened to the tempter. "I know," he added, "that self-destruction means eternal death. But this terrible thought has taken such hold of me, that twice to-day I have tried to throw myself into the river. The first time, there were too many people on the bridge, and I did not dare to accomplish my purpose. The second time, when I was nerving myself for the act, I saw you coming. And immediately, in the presence of your Holiness, my agony ceased, and I determined to tell you all."[1]

St. Hugh gave a kind and fatherly welcome to this prodigal son, so opportunely arrested in the way of perdition. He told the penitent sinner to take courage, gave him his blessing, and invited him to follow in his train to Canterbury, where they could speak together more fully. The young man thankfully accepted this proposal, and accompanied the Bishop to Canterbury, in which city, during the fifteen days of his stay while waiting for favourable weather to embark, the Saint found time to perfect the conversion of the penitent whom he looked upon as sent to him by Mary, the Refuge of sinners. By his instructions and prayers, the young man was for ever delivered from his temptations, and devoutly prepared himself to make a pilgrimage to Rome. But before his departure, he received another favour from the man of God. Two terrible ulcers were eating into his flesh, almost to the bone, as a famous physician of those days, Master Reginald Pistor, afterwards certified.[2] The holy Bishop wished to cure body as well as soul. He ordered some wax which was being warmed to make candles, to be applied to the horrible wounds. The remedy immediately took effect, and the ulcers cicatrized as suddenly

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iv. ch. 2.

[2] In English presumably his name was Baker.—[ED.]

as they had come, without leaving a trace of their presence. Thus healed in body and soul, the young man received with all the usual solemnities the pilgrim's staff and wallet, and departed for the tomb of the Apostles. After receiving the benediction of the Sovereign Pontiff, he subsequently returned to England, and entered a Cistercian monastery as a lay-brother, where he became a model of regularity and religious perseverance.

We have still to record a conversion of a different stamp, which, although it occurred some time before the date of which we are now treating, may be appropriately mentioned here. It was the case of a young man much less guilty than the would-be suicide of Rochester, but perhaps even less fitted to all appearance for the mortified life of a monk. Those who are experienced in the guidance of souls, know that it is often more easy to touch the heart of a great sinner and bring him back to God, than to induce an ordinary Christian to forsake his lukewarmness and vanity, and enter upon the path of perfection.

St. Hugh had confided the charge of the treasures of his episcopal chapel to a young man called Martin, who was free from any conspicuous vices, but still considerably imbued with worldliness. Now it was the custom at that time, for any one who had care of the sacred vessels and other church ornaments, to have his hair cut short after the manner of a cleric, even though he was not actually in minor orders, besides wearing a special vestment during the ceremonies. St. Hugh therefore bade Martin to get his hair cut. But the sacristan was not at all disposed to make the sacrifice, and delayed obeying the Bishop's command, under various pretexts, for about three days. At the end of that time, St. Hugh was determined to put an end to this fit of wilfulness, of which he well understood

the motive. So he followed his server into the sacristy after the celebration of Mass, and passing his hand through the offending locks, said to him: "Since you have not found a barber to clip you in orderly fashion, I myself must needs perform that office as best I may." Then he took the scissors, made the lad sit down, and the operation was soon over.[1] Martin made no resistance; he only burst into tears;—but it was not for the loss of his hair. In that moment, he had received, and responded to, a call to perfection. He threw himself at the Bishop's feet, and said: "My Lord, I beg of you, by God's mercy, to listen to me. Since your Holiness has, with your own hand, deprived my head of the sign of vanity, I beseech you to finish the good work you have begun, and help me to forsake all the snares of the world; I wish to be a monk. It is your act which has inspired me with this holy desire. From this moment, I consecrate myself entirely to God, and renounce all the pomps and vain joys of worldly men. Do you who have obtained this grace for me, help me to be faithful to it until death."

St. Hugh wished to put this sudden vocation to the proof. He made no answer, and as the dinner-hour had arrived, he sat down to table as usual. The poor sacristan could take no food, and thought only of how to obtain his desire, which grew stronger and stronger. When the guests separated, he threw himself at the feet of those whom he thought likely to plead for him.

[1] It will be noticed from the seventh of the canons published by St. Hugh (cited above, p. 327), that clerics had two distinct rules to observe with regard to their hair. First, they were not to allow it to grow long, as was the custom with seculars in that age, and secondly, they were bound to wear the *corona*, or tonsure. In acting as barber to his sacristan, St. Hugh, it may be remarked, was simply interpreting literally a decree of the Council of Westminster (of 1175) which professed to re-enact a canon of the Council of Agatho, in the sixth century. "Clerics," so runs the ordinance, "who let their hair grow, must be shorn by the archdeacon, even against their will." (Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 74.)—[ED.]

But although their prayers were united to his own, the holy Bishop still postponed his answer. Three days was Martin kept in suspense, as a punishment for his previous delay in obeying. At the end of that time, St. Hugh, being convinced of his sincerity, received him with the greatest kindness, and did all in his power to help him. He sent for the Prior of St. Neot's, a foundation dependent upon the Abbey of Bec, and obtained for Martin the coveted privilege of admission into the Novitiate.

St. Hugh never lost sight of his former sacristan. He gave him the religious habit, assisted at his profession, defraying the cost of a feast on that occasion, admitted him to subdeacon's orders, and sent him to Bec, that he might be more thoroughly instructed in all the observances of his Order. We learn from St. Hugh's biographer, who himself heard it from the Abbot and community of Bec, that Martin was in every way a credit to his patron, and was looked upon as a model of stability and virtue.

## Note to Book III. Chapter XI.

It is difficult to believe that the author of the *Magna Vita* has preserved quite a faithful account of the opinion expressed by the justices upon St. Hugh's doctrine of sanctuary. Certainly the contention was one which would have made the great lawyer Bracton, who flourished forty years later, open his eyes in astonishment. Bracton has treated the question of sanctuary with considerable fulness. In his pages the privilege appears not only as purely local, but as one which by no means allowed an offender to get off scot-free. The criminal who gained a consecrated church could not be forcibly dragged out by the officers of

justice; but on the other hand, it was the duty of the four neighbouring villages to surround the place to prevent his escape, and to send for a coroner. The coroner came and parleyed with the refugee, who then had to make choice between two alternatives: either to submit to trial, or to "abjure the realm." If he preferred the latter course, he chose or was assigned some definite port, and thither he had to make his way within a certain limit of time, travelling barefoot and bareheaded, in the garb of a penitent, with a white cross in his hand. There, as soon as he could find a ship to take him, he quitted England, binding himself by oath never to return. All his property was confiscated, and if he broke his oath and came back, his fate was that of an outlaw. Supposing that the criminal claiming sanctuary would neither submit to trial nor abjure the realm, then the Bishop or parish priest had the right of ejecting him forcibly from the church, but as this violence was not looked upon with favour, Bracton suggests that after forty days the criminal should be starved into submission.[1]

The plea set up by St. Hugh contradicts the teaching of Bracton in two most important particulars. In the first place he considers the privilege of sanctuary as attaching both to the precincts of the consecrated church, and also to the person of the Bishop; and secondly, he applies it not only to the fugitive whose guilt has not been legally attested, but to the criminal already tried and sentenced. A prisoner already convicted, according to Bracton,[2] ought not to be allowed the benefit of sanctuary. Still the lawyer is evidently puzzled by the problem presented if even a convicted

[1] Bracton, *De Legibus Angliæ*, Edit. Twiss, vol. ii. pp. 392—396; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, vol. ii. p. 588; A. Réville, "L'Abjuratio Regni," *Revue Historique*, September, 1892, pp. 1—42.

[2] ii. p. 395.

criminal, having gained the church, will not leave, and the Bishop will not consent to starve him out.

On the other hand, St. Hugh's contention may be considered to derive some sort of vague support from a section in the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor. There is nothing whatever to connect this miniature code with the Sovereign whose name it bears, but in the time of Roger Hoveden, St. Hugh's contemtemporary, it was believed that William the Conqueror made inquiry into the customs which obtained in England before his coming, and drew up these laws as the result of his investigations. Now this code, besides making in its first section a strong assertion of the personal immunity of ecclesiastics, *clerici . . . pacem Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ habeant*, which extends to all their property and possessions; proceeds in cap. v. to define the right of sanctuary in the following terms: "Whenever any suspect or criminal takes refuge in a church for safety's sake, let him on no account be seized by any pursuer from the moment he has gained the entrance of the church, unless it be by the Bishop or his minister."

And this is further extended by the clause which follows: "And if in his flight he (the criminal) enter the house of a priest or his court (*curia*), let him enjoy the same peace and security which he would have enjoyed in a church, providing always that the house or court of the priest be situated upon the domain (*feodo* or *fundo*) of the church."[1]

The fact seems to be, that there was a deep but rather ill defined sentiment in the heart of the people, that the peace of God surrounded as a sort of atmosphere or halo, the persons of those specially consecrated to His service. The sentiment was not even exclusively Christian, for the vestal virgins in pagan

[1] Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 493.

Rome had the acknowledged right of obtaining the pardon of any criminal whom they accidentally met on his way to execution. Among the Celtic races the right of sanctuary was so respected, that King Meirchion, according to the legend, dared not drag a hunted stag from the feet of St. Illtyd, where it had sought safety. This is suggestive of a personal rather than a merely local privilege, and the same feature may be recognized in several other early stories of Irish origin.[1] So too there are a good many mediæval examples of this sort of protection attaching to the person of Bishops or Abbots. I may content myself here with referring to perhaps the most famous instance, that of the rescue of a criminal on his way to execution by the great St. Bernard. The Saint begged that the prisoner might be surrendered to him. To which the officers replied that the man deserved no mercy. Then St. Bernard declared it was far from his intention that he should go unscathed, on the contrary, that the law provided a punishment much too lenient. "I," he said, "will make him live long years, and crucify him every day." St. Bernard fulfilled his promise, for the poor criminal's heart was touched, and he spent the rest of his life as a monk of Clairvaux.

Beyond this somewhat vague testimony of tradition, I do not know of any direct warrant for the Bishop of Lincoln's claim to rescue prisoners.[2] It would not be wise, however, to speak too positively, for St. Hugh seems to have been a most diligent student of ecclesi-

[1] See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 65.

[2] Perhaps the nearest approach to a parallel case is the right of sanctuary recognized by some mediæval authorities as attaching to a priest when carrying the Blessed Sacrament. This right was confirmed in the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII. (1438) in the following terms: "Confugiens ad Christi Corpus dum portatur in via gaudet immunitate," &c. Cf., on the whole subject, Thomassinus, *Vetus Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, especially ii. 3, 99, and 100.

astical law. It is remarkable that in many of the actions of his life in which he seemed to be guilty of singularity, he was in reality only carrying out the canons which other men were bound by but neglected. His opposition, for instance, to the employment of clerics in secular functions, illustrated in the present chapter by his horror at the idea of being mistaken for a Baron of the Exchequer, was justified and no doubt inspired by the repeated Papal denunciations of him who, "being a soldier to God, entangleth himself in secular business."[1] So his refusal to bestow the usual *honorarium* upon the Archdeacon of Canterbury, who enthroned him, must, no doubt, find its explanation in the very emphatic prohibition of such fees in another pronouncement of Alexander III., *Cum in ecclesiæ corpore*.[2] The countenance lent by the Council of Westminster to his act in forcibly cutting his sacristan's hair, has already been pointed out in a foot-note.—[Ed.]

[1] 2 Timothy ii. 4, quoted in a decree of Alexander III., *Clerici in subdiaconatu*. See Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 188; Benedict, i. p. 236. This became section 12 of the canons of the Third Council of Lateran. Numerous decrees of similar import might be cited from earlier centuries. Of the enactments belonging to this period, I may refer to the Council of Westminster (1175) canon 3, and the Council of Rouen (1190) canons 9 and 10.

[2] Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 174; Benedict, i. p. 225.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *DEATH OF RICHARD I.*

Hugh arrived in Normandy a few days after Septuagesima Sunday, in February, 1199. He there found the Papal Legate, Peter of Capua, who had just succeeded in concluding a five years' truce between England and France. This was a fortunate opportunity for him to plead his cause with the representative of Innocent III. And the Legate, on his part, was glad of the information which St. Hugh could give of the condition of the Church in England. Two or three weeks were spent in these conferences, and we regret that no record of them has come down to us.

When Lent had well begun, the Bishop of Lincoln repaired to Angers, and received hospitality in a manor-house belonging to the Abbey of St. Nicholas, on the River Brionneau, near that town.[1] St. Hugh waited there for a favourable opportunity of getting an audience with the King, who had just then begun a new campaign against some of his rebellious barons. During his stay at the manor-house, St. Hugh was

[1] The important priory of Spalding in Lincolnshire was a cell of the Abbey of St. Nicholas at Angers. It is easy, therefore, to understand that the monks of St. Nicholas would be very willing to show hospitality to the Bishop of the diocese in which such a considerable dependency of theirs was situated. In the very next year we have a charter of King John dated April 21st, confirming the priory and possessions of Spalding to the monks of Angers. It is probable that such a document would not have been executed without some reference to St. Hugh, though his name does not occur among the witnesses.—[Ed.]

invited by some Grandmontese monks to conduct the ordinations in their monastery, at no great distance from Angers.[1] He willingly acceded to their request; but he manifested a strange reluctance to ordain one particular candidate who presented himself to receive the subdiaconate on that occasion. There was nothing apparently against his being admitted to Orders. The Bishop himself knew the young man, who was also highly recommended by the Archdeacon of Oxford, Walter Map. Nevertheless, St. Hugh persisted in his refusal to ordain him, and even showed a certain irritation at being pressed to do so, which much astonished his own chaplains. But a very short time afterwards his conduct on this occasion was fully explained. The poor young cleric was attacked by leprosy. Then it was understood that the man of God had foreseen the sad calamity, and had had good reason for refusing Holy Orders to one whose affliction would have unfitted him for the duties of the ministry. In spite of his own tender affection for lepers, and his loving care of them, Hugh was penetrated with the idea that those set apart for the service of Almighty God should be free from blemish, not only in soul, but, if possible, in body also.

God, who reveals or conceals the future from His servants, according to His own wise counsels, had not yet enlightened the Saint as to the final outcome of his conflict with the King. And now alarming rumours began to spread consternation amongst those who surrounded him. It was said that the King was so infuriated that he was determined to inflict a pitiless vengeance on all his enemies, counting amongst their number the Bishop of Lincoln and all his clergy. This might, of course, prove to be mere gossip, but the sanguinary war he was then waging against Ademar,

[1] It was at la Haye-des-Bonshommes, near the forest of Craon, in the parish of Avrille.

Viscount of Limoges, seemed to confirm the sinister tidings. Ademar, who was a vassal of the King of England, had lately discovered a considerable treasure, and had sent a part of it only to his Sovereign. Richard claimed the whole, and when it was refused to him, came to take it by force of arms. He laid siege to the Castle of Châlus-Chabrol, where, as he imagined, the treasure was concealed.

Such is the account of Roger Hoveden, which is reproduced by the greater number of historians. But the Abbé Arbellot, author of a paper called *La Vérité sur la Mort de Richard Cœur de Lion*,[1] contends that this war had a more honourable cause. The King of England had given some offence to Ademar of Limoges, and his brother, the Comte de Périgord, whereupon both noblemen, by way of revenge, had tendered allegiance to the King of France. Therefore they were, it is urged, in actual rebellion against their lawful Sovereign, when he declared war against them.

We are told that the garrison of Châlus wished to surrender on condition of being allowed to escape with their lives, but that the King told them to prepare for the worst, as he intended to take the castle by storm, and hang all the defenders. If this circumstance is true, it certainly shows that Richard's exasperation was extreme.

St. Hugh had now to defend himself against the discouragement and pusillanimity of his own clergy, who were not only in terror of the King's vengeance, but were furthermore discontented and inclined to sulk at the difficulties raised against the promotion of one of their number to a bishopric. This was Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford,[2] who had been proposed as a

[1] Paris: Haton, 1878.

[2] As Walter Map, who was precentor, chancellor, and afterwards archdeacon in the diocese of Lincoln, seems to have lived on more or less

candidate for the see of Hereford. The principal canons of Hereford had just arrived in Angers, to seek an interview with the King, but it was easy to foresee that any canon or archdeacon from the diocese of Lincoln could expect no favourable reception from Richard, until their Bishop had made his submission.

All this, of course, tended to make the canons of Lincoln very dissatisfied with the uncompromising attitude of St. Hugh. They determined to try if the force of numbers could shake his resolution, and to that end an understanding was come to amongst them which included not only the Bishop's own clergy, but the canons of Hereford as well, and with them several prebendaries of Angers, the Dean of the Chapter at their head. One day, in the middle of Lent, all these distinguished ecclesiastics attacked St. Hugh together, and exhausted their eloquence in trying to persuade the Saint to follow the oft-repeated advice given by the Archbishop of Canterbury, namely, to send a messenger to the King with a large sum of money. "By this means," they said, "you will free yourself from any further care or trouble, and you will be able to return to your diocese immediately. Reflect, that there is no time to be lost. All the provinces here are experiencing the horrors of war; the people are terrified; every town and every village is under the influence of panic. There

intimate terms with St. Hugh, it is worth while to point out that nothing can be more uncertain than the authorship of much of the literary work commonly attributed to him. It is no doubt true that he allowed himself a good deal of freedom in his criticisms of men and things, inveighing especially against the monks with much bitterness—this we may learn from his undisputed work, the *De Nugis Curialium*, and from Giraldus. But we may acquit him of any connection with the scurrilous and ribald verse which has been fathered upon him. The famous drinking-song, in particular, *Meum est propositum in taberna mori*, though this perhaps is less open to objection than some others amongst his supposed works, has no claim to be known as his. See Mr. H. L. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, and the article on Map in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.—[ED.]

is no place of safety to be found anywhere, either in the cities or in the country. Very soon, it will be folly to remain here; and yet we shall no longer have it in our power to depart even if we wish to."

One after another the canons strove to paint the gloomy outlook to their Bishop in the most sombre colours. They continued their entreaties from early morning till late into the evening. The torment inflicted on holy Job by his well-meaning but vexatious friends, could hardly have been greater than that experienced by our Saint, who was not only sensitive by nature, but sincerely attached to his clergy. Torn asunder, as it were, between the dread of making concessions of which his conscience disapproved, and the necessity of grieving so many beloved and honoured friends, he seems to have endured a martyrdom. Nevertheless, he persevered in upholding the cause of ecclesiastical liberty, and tried to persuade those who differed from him that it was their duty also to support it. "Your reasons," he said, "are no reasons. To act as you are advising me to act, would be not to save our cause, but to lose it, and to lose it with dishonour, for we should cast the dignity and liberty of the Church under the feet of the secular power, without obtaining in the end the peace which we desire. If to-day we purchase this peace at an exorbitant price, we shall find it broken to-morrow, and we shall have to begin all our work over again."

The party in favour of concession, emboldened by its numbers, and by the circumstances of the case, was determined to prevail. The canons continued their arguments and entreaties, until the soul of St. Hugh was filled with bitterness. Never before had he been so completely abandoned by those whom he specially loved and trusted. If he had been contending with courtiers or even with Kings, he would have known

how to reply, and would have silenced them with peremptory answers. But he could not readily resign himself to a serious rupture with old and tried friends, and yet he saw them hopelessly obstinate in opposing their judgment to his own. Contrary to his wont, he determined to give them no final answer that evening, and he said to them at last, completely wearied out: "My brothers, that is enough for to-day; to-morrow morning, with the help of God, we will together make that decision which will be most for His glory. We know by experience that the silence of the night is a good counsellor."

When at length he found himself alone with one faithful friend, he confessed that he had never gone through such a time of anguish. He threw himself on his knees to pray: for there is no other remedy so effectual as prayer for this agony of the soul; and our Divine Lord knew this, when He left us the example of His prayer in Gethsamane. Hugh then besought God to put an end to his perplexities, and to show him how he could act without scandalizing his friends or being too obstinate, and yet without failing in his duty to God and the Church. Here was his great difficulty. He had often triumphed in the past, but it seemed to him that this case was quite different, and he knew not how to decide. He lay down to rest, still full of these thoughts and bereft for once of the peace of soul he habitually enjoyed. Sleep came to his eyes at last, and in his sleep a miraculous dream was sent to console and guide him. He heard a heavenly voice, which repeated the words of the Psalmist: "God is wonderful in His saints; the God of Israel is He who will give power and strength to His people. Blessed be God."[1]

He awoke, and rose at once in perfect peace. His

[1] Psalm lxvii. 36.

doubts and fears were gone. As soon as he could find his chaplain, he came to confess his fault of the evening before. He accused himself, with deep grief, of want of trust in God, and of not having at once silenced the unworthy proposals which had been made to him. "I hope," he added, "that God will be merciful to me, a penitent sinner, and that He will still help me to do His will and fight His battles to the last."

The next morning his friends did not appear: probably, they began to understand what pain they had been giving him, and how useless their remonstrances had been. A few more days went by, and St. Hugh received a visit from the Abbess Matilda of Fontevrault, who came to give him secret information of the most serious importance. The King was lying grievously wounded, and appeared to be drawing near his end.[1]

This was what had taken place. On the 26th of March, probably the very day on which the Saint had gone through a time of such intense anguish, Richard, accompanied by Marchadeus, was riding round the walls of the Castle of Châlus to determine what point in the defences seemed most practicable for an assault. As he advanced, with careless daring, close to the besieged fortress, he was struck by an arrow which pierced his left shoulder. In a fit of passion, he ordered the attack

[1] As soon as the King of England was aware of his danger, he sent to tell his mother, Queen Eleanor, who was then at the Abbey of Fontevrault. She set out at once for the bed-side of her son, without telling any one but the Abbess the reason of her journey. Matilda III., Abbess of Fontevrault, thus informed of the news which was otherwise to be kept secret, and knowing also the grave situation of Hugh of Lincoln, hastened herself to Angers, to acquaint him with what had taken place at Châlus. "It is not absolutely certain," she said, "that the King will die, but it is very probable." (Dom Paul Piolin, *Voyage de St. Hugues, Evêque de Lincoln, à travers l'Anjou et le Maine en l'année 1199*, p. 8. Angers, 1889.) It was originally printed in the *Revue de l'Anjou*, vol. xix. This learned and able work has been of great service in checking the topographical details of the present and succeeding chapters.

to begin at once, and in a very short space of time the castle was taken. The King ordered all the soldiers of the garrison to be hanged, with the exception of the archer who had wounded him, by name Peter Basil,[1] who, it seems, was reserved for a more cruel punishment. But these acts of vengeance could not cure the wound he had received, and its serious nature was soon apparent. The head of the arrow remained in the shoulder, and when the surgeons attempted to draw it out, it broke. Mortification set in, and that was equivalent to a sentence of death. Then the faith of Richard of the Lion Heart revived. He made an exact confession of all his sins to his chaplain, with full consciousness and deep contrition. The chaplain was Milo, the Cistercian Abbot of Nôtre Dame du Pin, in the diocese of Poitiers. The King then sent for the archer who had wounded him, and freely pardoned him, ordering him to be set at liberty, and giving him a present of a hundred shillings, that he might return to his own country.[2] After this act of Christian generosity, the King died on the 6th of April, being only forty-two years of age.[3]

[1] There is a curious conflict of testimony as to the name of the man who shot Richard Cœur de Lion. R. Diceto, Wendover, and others call him Peter Basil; but Gervase calls him John Sabraz, and William le Breton, Guy. Most English historians have followed Hoveden in naming him Bertrand de Gourdon, but there are serious difficulties against this view. See Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii. p. 385, note.—[ED.]

[2] Unfortunately, the savage Marchadeus was present. Unknown to the dying King, he ordered the wretched archer to be flayed alive and then hanged. According to another account, the execution of this brutal sentence was due to Jane, the sister of King Richard, and the wife of Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse.—[ED.]

[3] Queen Eleanor, in a charter signed only a few days after the death of her son, said that no one had more to do with his edifying end, than Lucas, Abbot of Torpenay, of the Order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of Tours. (Dom Paul Piolin, op. cit. p. 10.)

Yet he had lived too long for his renown, and one is disposed to wish that the hero of the Third Crusade had perished more nobly, and in a war more worthy of his fame. God ordered it otherwise, but gave him the grace of repentance before he died. If he had always been faithful to the inspirations of faith and to the counsels of St. Hugh, he would not merely have given occasional glimpses of a noble and chivalrous nature, but he, too, might have been distinguished by the virtuous life, the devotion to the Church and to his people, the unfailing benevolence, and the combination of wise and good deeds, which were soon to shine forth in the person of another King, as brave and fearless as he—St. Louis of France, the typical Christian hero of the middle ages.

The Sieur de Joinville, the faithful friend and chronicler of St. Louis, tells us that more than once in Palestine, his royal master came upon the traces of Richard of the Lion Heart, and on one particular occasion was pleased to imitate his example. It was a question whether the saintly King should visit Jerusalem as a simple pilgrim, seeing that he had not been able to conquer it by force of arms. He was told that when Richard of England was near the Holy City, without any hope of being able to effect an entrance there with his troops, one of his knights cried out to him: "Sire, Sire, come here, and I will show you the city of Jerusalem." But Richard, so ran the story, at once held his shield before his eyes, and bursting into tears, exclaimed: "O my Lord God! suffer me not to see Thy Holy City, since I am not able to deliver it!"[1] St. Louis himself could not have spoken more beautiful and Christian words, and he felt honoured in imitating the example of his English precursor. This incident may well serve as our final

[1] Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ch. cviii.

tribute to the memory of the famous English monarch, while it helps to explain something of the sympathy and admiration which still cling round his name. Such noble sentiments and reverent deeds may plead the sinner's pardon, especially when they are ratified and confirmed in the moment of the soul's last return to God.

As soon as the news of the King's death was brought to St. Hugh, he set out for Angers, where, in default of the Bishop, William of Chemillé,[1] he had been invited by the Chapter to officiate on Palm Sunday. He was there met by an ecclesiastic, named Gilbert de Lacy,[2] who announced to him that Richard was to be buried at Fontevrault on the next day. St. Hugh drew a deep sigh, and immediately expressed his wish to assist at the funeral. His attendants tried to induce him to relinquish this idea, as the country was in a most dangerous state, ever since the news of the King's death had been made public. Brigands and highway robbers infested the roads, and travellers of all ranks were pillaged and ill-treated.[3] But St. Hugh was not to be turned from his purpose by the fear of any

[1] It does not seem clear that William of Chemillé had yet been released from the sentence of suspension pronounced against him by order of Innocent III. for resigning his diocese of Avranches, and accepting that of Angers without reference to the Holy See.—[ED.]

[2] We can hardly be wrong in conjecturing that this Gilbert de Lacy must have been a member of the distinguished Norman family of de Lacys, who played so conspicuous a part in the early days of the English occupation of Ireland. There is mention of a Gilbert de Lacy in the Rolls of the Norman Exchequer who was tenant of a fief in Normandy. (Stapleton, ii. p. lxxi.) This Gilbert, however, in 1215, had a son old enough to be hostage for his uncle Walter. As the Gilbert here mentioned is only described as a cleric, he may possibly have given up the idea of becoming a priest and married. Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester and Governor of the Château Gaillard, was a comparatively distant connection.—[ED.]

[3] We learn from the *Magna Vita* that some of his servants who had come bringing him money from England, had been stopped by the brigands and robbed of forty marks.

such dangers. "Nothing shall prevent me," he said, "from rendering the last duties to my Sovereign. The robbers may take all that I have, but unless they tie my feet together, they will not hinder me from going to Fontevrault."

He left most of his people at Angers, and set out, with scarcely any luggage, attended only by one cleric, one monk,[1] and a few servants. As he drew near the Castle of Beaufort, he was told that the widowed Queen Berengaria was living there. He left the high-road, and travelled through the forest, to pay her a visit, and offer her the sympathy and consolation she sorely needed. The virtuous Queen was overwhelmed with grief, but the words of St. Hugh were as healing balm to her troubled soul.[2] From him she learned how to bear her sorrow in patience, and to rejoice over her husband's repentance and reconciliation with God. St. Hugh celebrated Mass in her presence, and gave her a solemn benediction. He then proceeded on his journey, and arrived on the same day at Saumur, where the people met him, singing litanies, and showing him every mark of veneration. He rested that night at the house of Gilbert de Lacy, the ecclesiastic who had announced the King's death to him, and who was pursuing his studies in the town.

On the next day, which was Palm Sunday, he arrived at Fontevrault just as the funeral ceremonies were beginning. He met the coffin of King Richard at the entrance door of the abbey church, and himself officiated at the Solemn Requiem and the burial service which followed. The mortal remains of the King were

[1] The monk must have been the Saint's chaplain, Adam, the author of the *Magna Vita*.—[Ed.]

[2] This reference to Queen Berengaria in the *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 10, is almost the only information we have of the manner of life of this sorely-tried lady in her later years.

laid to rest, with the honour due to his rank, by the side of his father, Henry II. As the holy Bishop of Lincoln looked upon the last resting-place of these two monarchs, he must have felt happy that his conscience had nothing to reproach him with in his conduct towards either. He had neither weakly yielded nor stubbornly opposed. He had been to each of them all that a Bishop should be to a temporal Sovereign—a wise counsellor, always ready to speak the truth to ears too much accustomed to the flattery of courtiers; a resolute champion of the Church, ready at all times to defend her rights against the encroachments of the secular power. And in defending the Church, he had been a true friend to the State and the monarchy also, for neither can become a persecutor of religion without attacking the principles of all dependence and undermining its own authority.

After the funeral, St. Hugh returned to Saumur, where he spent a few days, being entertained by his host, Gilbert de Lacy, with much kindness and consideration. But on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week, he again visited the Abbey of Fontevrault, to offer Mass each day, and recite the Office of the Dead for the Holy Souls and especially for the two monarchs he had served so faithfully. The thought of death which was at all times so familiar to him, must have come home with redoubled force beside the mortal remains of these two great Kings during that week consecrated to the memory of our Lord's sacred Passion. Who could avoid being impressed there with the vanity of all that this life has to offer, or fail to carry away a deeper sense of the eternal peace which succeeds the turmoil and the suffering of our efforts here below?

With the reign of Richard I. terminated the more stormy period of the life of our Saint. For ten years

he had fought the battles of the Church, and had remained the victor in every field. But his life was now drawing to a close, and in the comparative tranquillity of those last days we shall find him renewing the peaceful memories of his youth.

# BOOK IV.

## THE GLORY OF THE SAINT, BEFORE AND AFTER HIS DEATH.

## CHAPTER I.

### *THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF KING JOHN.*

THE successor of Richard I. was his brother John, surnamed Lackland, to the exclusion of his nephew, Arthur, Duke of Brittany, who was the son of Richard's elder brother Geoffrey. According to details given by St. Hugh's chaplain, which are very valuable for the light they throw upon this period of English history, Prince John, having been accused by Richard of forming an alliance with the King of France, had therefore been deprived of his possessions; and at the time of Richard's death, was staying with the Duke of Brittany. But Richard must have changed his mind with regard to his brother, for before he died, he declared John his successor. John immediately hastened to Chinon, where the royal treasury was, accompanied by a few of his friends, and there, on the Wednesday in Holy Week, April 14th, 1199, he was proclaimed King by Robert of Turnham[1] and several other English nobles, who did homage to him as their Sovereign. John then took a solemn oath to carry out

[1] Robert de Turnham, the brother of the Stephen mentioned above, p. 393, as having been charged by Richard to execute the decree of confiscation pronounced against St. Hugh, was the custodian of the royal treasure in Normandy at the time of Cœur de Lion's death, and surrendered this and the royal castles into the hands of John. Both Stephen and Robert de Turnham were present at the Homage of the King of Scots at Lincoln in November, 1200, and presumably at the funeral of St. Hugh which took place on the following day.—[ED.]

the wishes of Richard, in all fidelity, and to respect the ancient laws and customs of the people he was about to govern. He was aware that his promises would not be very readily believed by those who had watched his conduct in the past, and it was part of his policy to give a sort of pledge of better behaviour by securing the countenance of the holy Bishop of Lincoln.

St. Hugh was at Saumur, preparing for his return to England, when he received a message from John, begging to be honoured with a visit from him, as soon as possible. St. Hugh at once set out, and as he drew near Chinon, he saw the Prince coming to meet him. The Prince professed to be overjoyed at his arrival, dismounted from his horse, and advanced alone and unattended, to welcome the Bishop. Every mark of honour and veneration was lavished upon him, and he begged St. Hugh not to leave him again, until they could return together to England. Hugh excused himself for not being able to accept this invitation, but consented to accompany the Prince to Fontevrault and to Saumur.

The visit which John now made to the tombs of his father and brother at Fontevrault, furnished the Saint with an excellent opportunity for giving him a useful lesson. As they were travelling towards the abbey, St. Hugh, who perhaps thought the admonition needed, took occasion to speak earnestly of the piety towards God, and of the mercy and justice towards all the world, which ought to distinguish a Christian King. John assured him that he was ready to follow the Bishop's advice in all things, that he looked upon him as his Father and Master, and would be guided entirely by his direction. How far any momentary flicker of sincerity may have been at the bottom of these professions it is impossible to say, but by way of showing that he wished to have no secrets from his

new guide, it would seem that John drew from the folds of his robe, a stone set in gold, which he wore round his neck. It was for him a sort of talisman, as he proceeded to explain. "This stone," he said, "was given to one of my ancestors with the assurance that he and his descendants should never be deprived of their dominions, as long as they retained possession of it." "Take care," said St. Hugh, "not to put your trust in any material stone. Lean solely upon the living and heavenly Stone, which is our Lord Jesus Christ. Let your heart be anchored upon that sure rock and upon that alone. Remember that it is a Stone which can crush those who resist it, as well as support those who base their hope thereon."

When at length they arrived at Fontevrault, the nuns gave the Prince a reception, well calculated to confirm any salutary impression he might have received during his conversation with St. Hugh. Surrounded by a brilliant train, he entered the abbey church, and knocked at the door of the choir, which was reserved for the Religious. He asked leave to enter, that he might visit the royal tombs, and recommend himself to the prayers of the community. On this two grave Sisters presented themselves, and told him that no one whatever was allowed to enter the enclosure save in the presence of the Abbess, who was then away from home. "Your Excellency," they continued, "will have to await her return, which will not be long delayed. Do not, we beg of you, be offended at our refusal to break our rules. Your illustrious father, upon whose soul may God have mercy, has set you the example of showing especial esteem for those religious communities who have always been faithful to the intentions of their founders." After this firm and dignified reply, these prudent virgins retired, shutting the door of the choir behind them.

John then had recourse to the Bishop of Lincoln, and begged him to ask the prayers of the servants of Jesus Christ, and to inform them of various grants and concessions which he intended to make in their behalf. "You know," said the Saint, "that I have the greatest horror of anything that is not true. I must refuse to tell them anything of your promises, unless you really are resolved to keep them." Then the Prince swore to be faithful to his word, and said that he would also add new benefits to those he had already promised. St. Hugh accordingly repeated all this to the nuns, and begged them to commend the reign which was beginning to the protection of Almighty God. Then giving his blessing to all, he withdrew in company with the Prince. As they passed together through the porch of the church, the Bishop stopped John, and called his attention to a series of carved stone figures forming part of a representation of the Last Judgment.[1] "The church porch," he said, "is a good place to choose for such a subject. It is well to remind those who enter that they have need to implore God's pardon for their sins. Prayer is the best means to escape His judgments and to gain Heaven." Then, as he wished him to apply this lesson particularly to himself, he took him by the hand, and showed him that there were kings, in all the insignia of their rank, ranged amongst the reprobate on the left hand of the Supreme Judge. "Think of this," he continued, "and let the eternal punishment which is reserved for wicked kings, be constantly in your remembrance. Reflect upon the misery of those who being called upon to govern others, neglect to

[1] It would seem that no trace of these sculptures now remains. At least I can find no mention of them in the elaborate work on Fontevrault by the Abbé Edouard. But groups of carved figures similar to that described in the text are not rare. There is a Last Judgment of this kind in the Cathedral of Amiens.—[ED.]

govern themselves, and so become the slaves of demons. It is impossible to dread such a terrible fate too much; we can only avoid it, by fearing it always."

Then, in his turn, the Prince took the Bishop's hand, and led him to the opposite wall, where, ornamented with crowns of glory, were to be seen other kings in the number of the elect, conducted by angels to the joys of Paradise. "My Lord Bishop," he said, "these are the kings whom you should have shown to me. It is their example I intend to follow, that I may one day share their company for all eternity."

There is something rather sickening about all these professions when viewed in the light of John's previous and subsequent conduct. St. Hugh's chaplain, writing his account of this episode, as he tells us incidentally, fourteen years later, while England still lay under the ban of interdict, breaks out into an indignant apostrophe of the faithless monarch. "Before the eyes of all the world," he complains, "there is verified of him the saying of Scripture: 'The wicked man when he cometh to the depth of sin contemneth.'[1] Though he has wrought every evil against God and his neighbour, against clergy and people, he despises the judgments of God, and heeds not the retribution which ere long must surely wait upon his misdeeds."[2] Even as it was, amid the hypocritical affectations of that first week, by which he sought to conciliate all who might prove dangerous opponents to his rather dubious title, John overacted his part. If a beggar by the wayside wished him good-luck the Prince bent his body, bowed his head low, and effusively spoke his thanks. Not a ragged old woman curtsied to him but he returned her

[1] Proverbs xviii. 3.

[2] *Magna Vita*, p. 291. The passage was probably written towards the end of 1212. The interdict was not finally removed until June 1213.—[ED.]

salutation most graciously.[1] It is Hugh's chaplain, who was then constantly present at his side, who tells us these things. But with a man like John, utterly unaccustomed as he was to discipline or self-control, such manners could not last—not even for a single week. It may be that by that time the new King had sufficiently felt the pulse of those around him to be satisfied that his position was tolerably secure, or it may be that the reaction from this unwonted and uncongenial self-restraint produced an explosion, but certain it is that on Easter morning, when the late King had just been seven days buried, John revealed himself at last in his true colours, and finally convinced the good Bishop of Lincoln that all the virtuous professions which preceded had been nothing more than a mask of hypocrisy.[2]

It was in the church at Beaufort that he kept the solemn feast, by assisting at the Pontifical Mass of the Bishop of Lincoln. When the time of the Offertory came, the Prince received from his chamberlain, according to custom, twelve pieces of gold, which he was to offer to the Prelate. He advanced to the altar, surrounded by his attendants, but instead of respectfully presenting his offering, and kissing the Bishop's hand, as the usual ceremony prescribed, he stopped in front of him and stood examining the coins, rattling them about in his hand. Soon every one in the church was staring at him in astonishment. St. Hugh, indignant at such behaviour, said to John: "What are you looking at like that?" "I," replied the Prince, "I am looking at these pieces of gold, and I am thinking that if I had had them a few days ago, I should not be

[1] "Occurrentibus sibi mendicis et fausta imprecantibus corpore incurvato et capite altius demisso gratias diligenter referebat: salutantes se pannosas etiam aniculas mitissime resalutabat." (*Magna Vita, ibid.*)

[2] The text of the French original has not been adhered to in the foregoing paragraph.—[ED.]

offering them to you to-day, but should have kept them in my purse. However, here they are: take them." The speech was grossly insulting, and St. Hugh felt it deeply. His cheek reddened, but it was not so much for himself as for the man who was so lost to all sense of reverence and propriety. Drawing back in indignation, he would not now touch the gold, nor allow John to kiss his hand. "Put what you have into that plate," he said, with dignity, "and retire." The Prince obeyed. The silver dish, intended for ordinary offerings, received the gift so ungraciously proffered. But neither the Bishop, nor any of his people, would touch it. He had in fact made it a general rule, both for his chaplains and for himself, never to accept anything in the strange churches in which he chanced to officiate.

After this incident, he began to preach the Word of God to the congregation who filled the church. He gave a long discourse on the conduct of good and bad princes, and of the rewards and punishments they would meet with. The people, who listened to him with rapt attention, expressed their admiration even audibly. Not so Prince John: the length of the sermon and its subject were equally distasteful to him; and besides, he was fasting, and was impatient for the dinner-hour. Three times he sent to beg the Bishop to finish his sermon and proceed with the Holy Sacrifice. St. Hugh paid no attention to these admonitions, and would not leave the pulpit without preparing his hearers for the Paschal Communion they were going to receive from his hands. His fervent eloquence caused many of those present to shed tears, and stirred the devotion of all except the Prince, who did not receive Communion, either on that solemn day, nor even on the day of his coronation and anointing.[1]

[1] Some persons, who had always been in his service, declared that he had never received Holy Communion since he came to years of discretion. (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 2.)

On Easter Monday St. Hugh took leave of John Lackland. If he had cherished any illusions regarding the new King during the preceding week, they had all disappeared, and the outlook seemed to him more gloomy than ever. He could look for nothing from such a Sovereign as this, beyond a truce of longer or shorter duration, according to calculations of policy, and he foresaw that a very few years would bring the Church in England face to face with a new and terrible persecution. He still hoped to be able to do something to defer the crisis as long as possible, but that could not be much, and from this moment his most ardent longings were directed towards his heavenly home, which he felt was not far from him now. In the meantime he was longing to return to his diocese, to do all the good he could before death came to set him free.

He set out on his journey, therefore, accompanied by Gilbert Glanville, Bishop of Rochester, and many other ecclesiastics from various dioceses. Although they formed a numerous party, the expedition was not without danger. The country they had to traverse was far from being entirely submissive to the rule of John, and young Arthur of Brittany, at his mother's instigation, had come to rally partisans to his standard. St. Hugh, always full of trust in God, arrived at La Flèche on the 19th of April, and at once went to the church to say Mass. He had not yet vested, when his servants ran up to him in great agitation. They told him that the magistrates of the town had taken forcible possession of his vehicles, and that thieves had stolen several of his baggage animals. The Bishop of Rochester and the rest of the clergy present begged him, under the circumstances, not to attempt to say Mass, but to content himself with hearing a Gospel read, and then to see what they could do to rescue themselves from their critical position. Hugh was

absolutely deaf to their remonstrances, and persisted in going to the altar. He would not even be satisfied with a Low Mass, but was bent on celebrating pontifically, with all solemnity. He put on the sandals, the tunic, the dalmatic, and all the other episcopal vestments, and offered the Holy Sacrifice with the greatest reverence and devotion, confident that he could find no more efficacious remedy than this. Finally, when all the appointed ceremonies were finished, he withdrew and took off his vestments. No sooner had he ended than the magistrates of the town came to him with profuse and humble apologies for what had happened. They implored his forgiveness, promising him every security if he would pass the night at La Flèche, and offering an escort, if he preferred to continue his journey. The Bishop made them a gracious answer, accepted the escort, and immediately set out, arriving in the evening at the Abbey of Couture, which was situated on the outskirts of the town of Le Mans.

The next morning, April 20th, at break of day, while St. Hugh was reciting the Office of Matins, and according to his custom, was having the longer form of lessons read,[1] a great tumult was heard from the direction of the ramparts. The young Duke of Brittany, Prince Arthur, accompanied by his mother, Constance, was besieging the town, hoping to seize the person of his uncle and rival, John, who had actually arrived at Le Mans during the night, but who had left again immediately, fearing some trap would be laid for him.

[1] In the early middle ages the lessons read in the Divine Office were, as a rule, very considerably longer than those now in use. It would seem that no definite quantity was originally fixed for reading, and we find marginal notes in the MSS., inserted by a later hand, indicating where the reader is to stop. It followed that the lessons were much more arbitrarily curtailed by local authority or even without authority. Cf. Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, p. 161 ; Dom S. Bäumer, in the *Katholik*, Nov. 1890, p. 406, *Geschichte des Breviers*, pp. 335, 336.—[ED.]

One of the attendants of the Bishop of Lincoln, named Gerard, having learned the cause of the disturbance, came in haste to tell the man of God, advising him to abridge the lessons of the Office, and set out before day had fully dawned, after the example of the other ecclesiastics, who had already taken flight. St. Hugh remained perfectly calm, and quietly finished his Office, without any abbreviation. This was really the cause of his escape, for the delay brought Robert, Abbot of La Couture, to his assistance, who guided him safely, by unfrequented paths, beyond the outskirts of Le Mans.

His travelling companions were less fortunate. As they were hastily flying from the town, they fell into the hands of the besiegers, who ill-treated them and detained them as prisoners.

St. Hugh had left in the care of the Abbot of St. Pierre two carriages, with several horses, and a portion of his baggage. These were all returned to him by the mother of Arthur of Brittany, who took possession of Le Mans on Wednesday, April 21st. At the same time, Constance did not forget to recommend herself and her son to the prayers of the holy Bishop. His reputation stood so high that both parties were only anxious to prove the esteem and respect with which they regarded him.

He now directed his course towards the town of Séez, but turned aside from the main road to visit the Abbot of Perseigne,[1] who had a great reputation for learning and sanctity. He did not find the Abbot, who had been commissioned by the Pope to preach the new

[1] Adam, the Cistercian Abbot of Perseigne (diocese of Le Mans), was consulted by many distinguished persons, who held him in high esteem. Among his works (Migne, *Patrol.* vol. ccxi.) is to be found a letter addressed to Dom Stephen de Chalmet, Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Portes, treating at length of devotion to the Infant Jesus and His Blessed Mother.

Crusade then in contemplation; but without showing any impatience, he consoled himself by celebrating the Holy Mysteries. After that, continuing his journey, he reached his destination without further accident.

In the meantime, John, after venting his wrath upon Angers and Le Mans, which towns had not acknowledged his sovereignty, proceeded to Rouen, where he was crowned with the ducal crown of Normandy on April 25th. In the middle of the ceremony, he was guilty of another act of irreverence, which did not pass without comment. When the Archbishop of Rouen placed the lance, surmounted by the ducal standard, in his hand, some young courtiers, who were standing behind him, shouted applause, which was mingled with outbursts of foolish laughter. John turned round to grimace back at them, and in so doing, carelessly allowed the standard to slip from his grasp and fall to the ground. Many of those present looked upon this as an omen of what actually happened shortly afterwards. In a few years, Normandy fell into the hands of Philip Augustus of France, and with it Anjou, Maine, and Touraine were also lost to England. St. Hugh was not present at this ceremony at Rouen, but he took part in the King's coronation at Westminster on the 27th of May. His return to his diocese was one long triumph. Everywhere on his way, the people came in crowds to meet him, and welcomed him with demonstrations of joy. His entry into the city of Lincoln recalled the memory of his first enthronement there. He returned to his children this time, bringing them the blessed gift of peace, which he had purchased at the cost of endless fatigue and many a bitter struggle. The spontaneous homage of his people was very different from the hypocritical professions of John Lackland, and must really have brought consolation to his fatherly heart. At the same time, even the insincerities of the

new King were a tribute to the upright and intrepid character of the Bishop of Lincoln. John could not, for motives of policy, run counter to public opinion, and outrage the feelings of veneration with which St. Hugh was regarded throughout the whole kingdom.

## CHAPTER II.

*THE PEACE OF LES ANDELYS. ST. HUGH'S JOURNEY TO FRANCE.*

We have been occupied so long in relating the political events with which St. Hugh was mixed up, often against his will, that we have partly lost sight of the more spiritual aspects of his character. The pastor and the ascetic have been forgotten in the champion of Church privileges. And yet he was always, and before all else, a pastor faithfully discharging all his duties to his flock; an ascetic who preached by example as well as by precept; in short, the true Carthusian Bishop, whom we have described in the second book of this work. We have now to show that, such as he was in the beginning of his episcopate, such he remained during the last year he spent in the midst of his people. The events of the last few months had only strengthened his authority. When Kings had given way before him, it was folly for his own subjects to think of resistance. And so he was able to bring to completion the work of reorganization and reform which had been his first care in undertaking the spiritual charge of the diocese. Moreover, both clergy and faithful united in one feeling of veneration for the holy Bishop, whose virtues had now reached their culmination, and shone with so bright a light that none could fail to be dazzled by it. While his benevolence took new developments, and was poured out without measure upon the humblest

and most miserable of his children, his energy and zeal seemed to set at defiance the weakness of a body worn out with age and infirmity. There were some who prayed that his life might be prolonged even beyond the Scriptural limit of three score years and ten. But the holy man hoped otherwise, and seems to have had a presentiment that the end was not far off. This took him to Witham to begin his preparation for death by one of the retreats he loved so well. It must have been, we think, in the autumn of the same year 1199, which witnessed his return to England after the death of King Richard, that St. Hugh visited his old monastery for the last time, his stay being made memorable by an event reputed miraculous.

When his retreat was over, and he was about to return to Lincoln, the day before his departure, he went to the cell of each monk, to ask pardon for any bad example he might have given. The whole community was then assembled, and St. Hugh repeated the same act of humility in the presence of all. After this, the monks asked his pardon in their turn. There were many petitions for prayers exchanged between them with answering promises and benedictions; and at last the Carthusian Bishop took a solemn farewell of the Prior, embraced his brothers in Religion, gave them all his blessing, and finally quitted them with his favourite formula of adieu: "I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace."[1]

As he was to start on his journey very early the following morning, he went to spend the night in the house of the lay-brothers, near which his attendants were lodged. This was a distinct building, at some little distance, like the *domus conversorum*, or "lower house" at the Grande Chartreuse, in which Hugh in his early days had acted as Prior. St. Hugh slept quietly for

[1] Acts xx. 32.

some hours, and then rose to go into the church for the night Office. As he was reciting his Breviary, suddenly the windows on the west side were illuminated by a brilliant and vivid light. Some of the monks hastened out, to ascertain the cause of this phenomenon. They soon returned to tell the man of God that a kitchen close at hand near the lay-brothers' quarters was in flames. This kitchen, which was a temporary erection, and had been put up for the convenience of the Bishop's people, was really only a wooden shed, covered with straw. Five or six paces from it was the guest-house, with its roof of very dry planks. Only a very little further on, were the cells of the lay-brothers, built also of wood, and offering the most dangerous sort of fuel for the flames. The church itself, and the whole *domus conversorum*, were threatened.

Hugh at once realized the full danger of the situation. For one moment he trembled for the buildings around him, but his trust in God returned almost immediately. He made the sign of the Cross several times in the direction of the fire, and, interrupting his Office, he prostrated himself at the foot of the altar. There he remained in earnest prayer until they came to tell him that all danger was over. The shed alone was consumed, and no one regretted its disappearance. The holy Bishop had already asked several times that it might be pulled down, and replaced by a stone building, as he anticipated some such accident as had now occurred.

When the monks saw themselves thus preserved from a terrible disaster, they broke out into exclamations of thanksgiving and wonder. St. Hugh joined very simply in their expressions of gratitude to God, without appearing to observe that it was to him that they attributed this merciful intervention of Divine Providence. "Blessed be God!" he said; "not only has

He saved us from present danger, but He has destroyed that which might have caused danger in the future."

This was the Saint's last farewell to Witham, and it was a farewell worthy of him. His final legacy was to teach his brothers, not merely by word of mouth, but by an occurrence they all believed to be miraculous, a wonderful lesson of the power of prayer.

He had another visit to make, to a place even dearer still, before he left earth for Heaven. How often, in exile and difficulty, had his heart turned to his old home, in the desert of the Grande Chartreuse! Might he not behold once more this country of his soul, before his eyes closed for ever? His longing was destined to be gratified; and the opportunity came when John Lackland sent for him to be present at the signing of a peace between England and France, which took place near Andely, on the 22nd of May, 1200.

Many of the conditions of this peace have been blamed, not perhaps without reason, especially those which set aside the claims of Prince Arthur of Brittany. But the Bishop of Lincoln must not be held responsible for this. His part in the transaction amounted to no more than a general approval of the pacific resolutions of the two monarchs, and a prayer for the happy issue of their discussions and negotiations. By the treaty of Andely, an agreement was come to as to the dower of Blanche of Castile, the niece of the King of England, and her union with the heir-presumptive of the crown of France was definitively settled. The marriage, in fact, was celebrated at Portmort, in Normandy, the day after the signing of the treaty.[1] The Archbishop of Bordeaux gave the nuptial benediction, in the presence of several Bishops, among whom was probably St. Hugh of Lincoln. Although no one could then foretell the future, the whole of France showed great joy at this

[1] Cf. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. ii. p. 397.

union. The manifestations of delight were for once justified by the event. No nobler Sovereign has ever adorned a throne than the fruit of this marriage, the illustrious St. Louis. But, at the time, the country simply rejoiced at what it was hoped would prove the reparation of many wrongs, and the term of that cruel strife which had laid the whole of the kingdom under an interdict.

Ever since the month of February, the curse of the Church had rested on the land. The Papal Legate, not being able to induce Philip Augustus to take back his lawful wife, the virtuous Queen Ingelburga, pronounced a sentence of general interdict, which was rigorously put into execution; so rigorously, indeed, that the marriage of Blanche of Castile had to take place in Normandy, and not upon the French territory over which her husband was afterwards to reign. Nothing can depict the consternation of a whole Christian people at thus seeing themselves deprived of all the ceremonies of the Church, and of almost all the channels of grace. It was the only means by which an outraged morality could assert itself, and by which Christendom could be taught the lesson that Kings are not superior to the obligations of ordinary Christians, nor excepted from the censures of the Vicar of Christ. The French King, thus punished through his people, was obliged at last to open his eyes to his true duties, and sacrifice his unholy love to the good of his subjects. Self-interest alone, in the absence of any higher motive, left him no choice between reconciliation with the Holy See and the loss of his kingdom.

Philip Augustus hastened to return to Paris with the young bride and bridegroom, who were welcomed with great joy, as a pledge of the peace just signed with England, and on the eve of being concluded with the Church. The Bishop of Lincoln followed them to

the capital shortly afterwards. And then, having obtained permission from King John and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he set out for the Grande Chartreuse, on the 31st of May, 1200. The principal halting-places of his journey have been described to us by his chaplain, who wrote down from day to day his memories and impressions.

As he travelled from Andely to Paris, he passed through Meulan,[1] where he venerated the relics of St. Nicasius, and after having made a generous offering at the shrine, he himself detached and took away with him a small portion of bone from the head of the holy martyr. At Saint-Denis again he was delighted to visit all the treasures of the famous abbey, and stopped much longer before the shrines containing bodies of saints, than before the royal tombs. The object of his journey, as all his actions clearly showed, was not to satisfy his curiosity, but to find consolation in venerating the mortal remains of the blessed, or edification in the society of the holy men whom he was thus able to visit in the retirement of their monastic solitude.

As he came out of the Abbey Church of St. Denis, he was greeted, it seems, by a crowd of ecclesiastics, belonging to almost every European nation. These were the students of the great University of Paris, who perhaps wished to honour St. Hugh, as the enlightened protector of many seats of learning, and in particular of the University of Oxford,[2] which was situated in the diocese of Lincoln, and had developed considerably under the episcopate of the Servant of God. Full of ardour and enthusiasm, these young men looked with

[1] There was a great leper-house at Meulan, which may also have specially attracted St. Hugh. See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. xx. p. 608.—[ED.]

[2] See the note at the end of this chapter.—[ED.]

admiring eyes on this "oracle of the schools,"[1] this champion of the Church and the clergy. Enthusiastic expressions of applause and satisfaction were heard on all sides. St. Hugh responded to them by endeavouring to give pleasure to all who pressed around him. To some he addressed words full of kindness, others he embraced, and he gave his blessing to those with whom he was unable to make closer acquaintance. All were proud to receive even a look from him, or any slight token of consideration. Many of them earnestly entreated him to become their guest. He accepted the invitation of Raymund,[2] afterwards a Canon of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Leicester, who, it is said, was distantly related to him, and who subsequently distinguished himself by his chivalrous conduct at the time of the interdict in England, which occurred some years later. Faithful to the example of St. Hugh, Raymund preferred disgrace and exile, to obeying the tyrannical commands of King John, and as his revenues were not confiscated, he shared them with the numerous victims of persecution. St. Hugh's former chaplain was one of those who participated in his bounty. He also was an exile for the good cause, and for three months received hospitality from Canon Raymund, for which he expresses his gratitude in the course of his biography of our Saint.[3]

It was, no doubt, in the house of this Canon that St. Hugh was visited by one of the most distinguished

[1] Abbot Adam tells us that St. Hugh was styled "scholarum consultor" by John of Leicester, in a distich inscribed on the Saint's tomb. (*Magna Vita*, pp. 303 and 377.)—[ED.]

[2] From two entries in the Norman Exchequer Rolls which have come to my notice too late to be mentioned in their proper place, it appears that the person charged to convey the Carthusians to England in 1180 was named Raymund, and he is described as *clericus Regis*. It is just conceivable that he may be identical with the person here referred to. See Appendix.—[ED.]

[3] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 13.

theologians of the University of Paris. "My Lord Bishop," said the great man, "you have raised the glory of your Cathedral Church above all others, by drawing many of the most famous ecclesiastics thither. I will not disguise from you the great desire I have to associate myself with them, on any terms you may propose." "We will gladly receive you," answered the man of God, "but on two conditions only. One is, that you take up your residence amongst us. The other is, that the integrity of your life be as conspicuous as your learning." The great theologian[1] blushed at receiving this lesson, which he certainly deserved, and it is said, that he profited by it and amended his ways.

Another visit showed the impression which the arrival of St. Hugh had made, not only on the University of Paris, but also on the French Court. The son of Philip Augustus, afterwards Louis VIII. came to his lodging, accompanied by Duke Arthur of Brittany. Hugh gave a fatherly welcome to both the young Princes. He embraced them affectionately, and proffered advice full of gentleness and wisdom. Prince Louis received these exhortations respectfully and gladly; but Prince Arthur, on the contrary, was displeased, because he was exhorted to keep the peace with his uncle, the King of England. The Bishop had good reasons for giving him this counsel, and perhaps foresaw the melancholy end of the contest against which he warned him. Moreover, he did not suggest to the unfortunate young Duke any concession that it would have been dishonourable to grant. Let it be said, however, that Prince Arthur was then only

[1] According to St. Hugh's biographer, this theologian was no other than the Rector of the University of Paris. "Præerat enim scholis Parisiensibus, regens et ipse scholas." (*Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 11.) [The *regens scholas* is a technical term, and means no more than that he lectured to a class. The *præerat scholis* may perhaps imply more, but not clearly the rectorship of the University.—ED.]

fourteen years of age, so that he may perhaps be excused for not understanding the benevolent intentions with which the advice was given.

The interview terminated by a proposition from Prince Louis, that St. Hugh would honour him by visiting his bride, Blanche of Castile. Hugh consented with pleasure, and at once set out on foot for the royal palace, which was not far off. The Princess was rather distressed at an accident which had recently happened. Her husband had been slightly wounded in a tournament,[1] and she was disposed to look upon it as an omen of future misfortune. St. Hugh gently dissipated these fears, and spoke words of kindness and encouragement. After a few moments, peace and joy reappeared on the brow of the young bride; her little trouble had flown before the infectious calmness and consoling charity of the Saint.

The remembrance of this kind visit, related to St. Louis by his mother in after-years, was not without its influence in the many favours he bestowed upon the Carthusian Order.[1] He founded a Carthusian Monastery in Paris, in the year 1257, and presented the Grande Chartreuse, among many other gifts, with a magnificent relic of the True Cross, and one of the thorns from the Holy Crown.

Leaving Paris at last, St. Hugh proceeded to Troyes, passing by Jouy, where he taught the great lesson of faith, of which we have already spoken, by

[1] The suggestion that Louis had been wounded in a tournament, for which no ancient authority is quoted, though it is affirmed by modern writers, seems to me ridiculous. Louis at that time was only twelve and a half years old. His bride, Blanche of Castile, was a few months younger. See Elie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille* (1895), p. 10. Cf. Petit. Dutaillis, *Etude sur Louis VIII.* p. 3.—[ED.]

[1] Queen Blanche herself seems to have been especially attracted to the Cistercians, for whom she built the Abbey of Maubuisson, desiring, if it were God's will, to end her days there. See Berger, op. cit. p. 319.—[ED.]

his refusal to contemplate the miraculous Host.[1] At Troyes, he saw as he was leaving the town, a miserable looking object coming towards him, who in a piteous voice begged for mercy. This was a former steward of Brackley, a village in the diocese of Lincoln, which belonged to the Earl of Leicester. The Earl, who was noted for great personal courage, was connected with all the highest families in England; he also enjoyed the King's favour, and took advantage of it to exercise his authority with great arrogance and injustice, thus setting the worst possible example to his agents and officials. Especially was this bad example too faithfully followed on one particular occasion. A robber had taken refuge in the church at Brackley, but the agents of the Earl, disregarding the right of sanctuary, had dragged the unfortunate man from his asylum, and led him to the gallows. The Bishop of Lincoln was then in Normandy, just before King Richard's death. On his return, he excommunicated the authors of this outrage and their accomplices. The penance he imposed upon them was a severe and humiliating one; it was intended to repair a great scandal, and to humble the pride of those against whom it was enforced. The officers of the Earl were to go, barefoot, although it was in the depth of winter, to the grave of the man who had been hanged; they were to take up the decaying corpse, put it in a coffin and carry it to the cemetery of the church, where the right of sanctuary had been violated.[2] They were also to receive the discipline from the priests at Brackley, and afterwards from the clergy of every church in Lincoln, going from one church to another,

[1] See above, bk. iii. ch. vi. p. 346.

[2] In this and other actions of St. Hugh's life, which may at first sight seem somewhat bizarre, it will generally be discovered that he was only carrying out the ideas prevalent in his time. An example of a similar penance will be found referred to in the note at the end of this chapter.—[ED.]

always with bare feet. Rather than incur the terrible consequences of St. Hugh's excommunication, all those who were guilty submitted to this severe penance, with the sole exception of the steward of Brackley, who preferred to leave England altogether, and to take refuge with his master, the Earl, who was then in Normandy.

This was the man who now at last presented himself before his Bishop, in the most piteous state imaginable. Since his voluntary exile, everything had gone wrong with him. Instead of being kindly received by the Earl of Leicester, he found himself in disgrace; he had no money and no friends, and was reduced to the last extremity. He bitterly regretted his rejection of the rigorous terms offered by the man of God, and came to beg for absolution at the cost of any penance the Bishop might inflict. St. Hugh received this lost sheep with kindness and granted his request. The steward thankfully accepted the conditions imposed upon him, and peace was restored to his soul.

Such an example could not fail to strike terror into all those that heard of it. The severity of St. Hugh whenever there was any question of ecclesiastical authority being despised or set at naught, taught clergy and laity alike to dread the censures of the Church, and to listen with respect to the voice of the Vicar of Christ. Almost unconsciously St. Hugh in this way lent powerful support to Pope Innocent III. and helped materially to enforce the interdict from which France had not yet been released.

## Note to Book IV. Chapter II.

I am not aware of any definite allusion connecting St. Hugh's name with the University of Oxford. The suggestion made above, that the anxiety of the Parisian students to see him, was due to their interest in the rival seat of learning in England, is a mere conjecture, which has no foundation in the *Magna Vita*. Strangely enough, it is implied that what drew these young men around him was a desire for spiritual favours, "for," says his biographer, "after St. Nicholas (the patron of University students), there was no one to whom students owed so many graces." We have reason to believe, however, that Oxford did make great strides forward during the episcopate of St. Hugh. It is in the year 1190, that we read for the first time of a foreign student crossing the seas to go to "the common studium of letters which was at Oxford,"[1] and in 1192 Richard of Devizes speaks of the clerks of Oxford as so numerous that the city could hardly feed them. So also when we know that St. Hugh held his synods at Oxford,[2] and was a frequent visitor at Eynsham, which is close at hand, it is impossible to suppose that he took no interest in the Oxford schools. After all, the documentary history of the University can only be said to begin after St. Hugh's death, and it is a curious fact that the name of his chaplain and biographer, Adam, when Abbot of Eynsham, meets us in connection with the very earliest episode thus formally attested. The incident to which I refer is the famous

[1] Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Histor.* xxiii. p. 467. See Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii. p. 347.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. i. pp. 259, 263, 264. It was also at Oxford, in 1197, that Abbot Samson, of Bury-St.-Edmunds, associated with St. Hugh, it will be remembered, in the affair of the Coventry monks, entertained the expelled chapter, together with a numerous body of Oxford masters. (*Memorials of Bury-St.-Edmunds*, vol. i. p. 295.)

*suspendium clericorum*, the hanging of the clerks, of 1209, which seems to have had for the most momentous of its consequences the foundation of a rival centre of scholarship at Cambridge.[1] An Oxford student had seduced and murdered a young girl of the town. The townsmen in their thirst for vengeance retaliated by hanging two of the students, who apparently were quite innocent of the crime. This was a most serious infringement of the privileges of the University. All who attended the schools were clerks and under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Bishop of Lincoln, or his representatives, alone had authority to try them and inflict punishment. As this happened during the Interdict, no redress could be looked for from King John, so the students simply deserted Oxford for the time and betook themselves to other seats of learning. Amongst the rest some seem to have set up schools in Cambridge, which in the course of years developed into a University. At Oxford things were not righted until after the removal of the Interdict, when the penitent townsmen at last, in 1214, accepted the judgment of the Papal Legate, Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum. The sentence passed by him, too long to be quoted here, brings into prominent relief the supreme authority over the University claimed by the Bishop of Lincoln,[2] and presumably enjoyed without dispute in the time of St. Hugh and his predecessors. A severe penance was imposed upon the burghers. Amongst other things, they were ordered to go barefoot and bareheaded to the place where the clerks who had been hanged were

1 Rashdall, *Universities*, vol. ii. 349 and 542.

2 The name of the Bishop of Lincoln is mentioned no less than fourteen times. The townsmen are to execute everything in accordance with his mandate. Fifty of the leading townsmen are to swear to respect his authority, —"nec aliquo modo machinabimini in his vel in aliis quod præfati Lincolniensis Episcopi jurisdictio elidatur vel jus suum vel ecclesiæ suæ in aliquo minuatur." (Anstey, *Munimenta*, i. 1.) Cf. Mrs. De Paravicini, *History of Balliol College*, p. 17.

buried, to disinter their bodies and to convey them to the churchyard. Furthermore, the townspeople were to remit a certain proportion of the charges of the hostels, to contribute a definite sum every year to the support of the poor scholars, and to provide a feast for a hundred of them on St. Nicholas' day. For some reason unexplained, Abbot Adam and the monks of Eynsham bound themselves to the then Bishop of Lincoln, Hugh de Wells, to discharge these last two obligations in lieu of the burghers of Oxford.[1] The original deed, which is still extant, contains no mention of any *quid pro quo*, and it is possible that Abbot Adam, trained in the generous school of St. Hugh, undertook this as a pure act of charity. Some rash benefactions of this sort, exaggerated by a community which perhaps had little sympathy with the higher aspirations of their Abbot, may have led to his being described in his old age as a dilapidator of the goods of the monastery. However this may be, it seems certain, from the documents[2] connected with the *suspendium clericorum*, that no special *chancellor* was appointed to the University until a later date, which fact must have made its dependence upon the Bishop of Lincoln before this time only the more immediate.[2]

[1] It is curious that both in the judgment of the Bishop of Tusculum, and in the grant of Abbot Adam, the Bishop of Lincoln is referred to as Hugo *tunc* Epis. Lincoln., where we should certainly expect *nunc*. It almost looks as if our Hugh, and not Hugh de Wells, were referred to, but this seems impossible.

[2] It might conceivably have been possible that the Chancellor of the Cathedral Chapter (it was William de Monte in St. Hugh's time, see above, p. 151) also acted as Chancellor of the University, but in the summary of Lincoln customs sent to Scotland in 1236, we find that the jurisdiction of the Chancellor over schools was at that time restricted to the county of Lincoln itself. (See Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, vol. ii. p. 160.) It may be that this was only a recent arrangement, and that previously the powers of the Cathedral Chancellor extended to the whole diocese. For a tribute of Alexander Neckam to the success of the Lincoln schools under William de Monte, see Appendix.

## CHAPTER III.

### *THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN AT THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE.*

On his way to Grenoble, St. Hugh wished to make a pilgrimage to visit the relics of St. Anthony, which had been brought from Constantinople to Dauphiné, by a nobleman of that province, who had received them from the Greek Emperor. The history of this precious treasure is somewhat connected with the early history of the Carthusian Order, as St. Hugh's biographer takes care to tell us. The great Patriarch of the monks of the East almost seems to have wished to go before and prepare the way for his imitator, St. Bruno, for the latter built his first monastery at no great distance from the church where the body of St. Anthony had been deposited about fourteen years previously.[1] According to the pious author whose account we are following, St. Anthony chose this resting-place, "on purpose to assist with his presence the new Carthusian hermitage; being sufficiently near to his faithful disciples, to watch over all that concerned their welfare;

[1] It was in 1070 that the body of St. Anthony came into the possession of Jocelin, the Dauphinese noble in question; and in 1084, St. Bruno established himself in the desert of the Grande Chartreuse. The Order of *Antonines* sprang into existence in 1090, and it is probable that St. Hugh's biographer had confused the two dates, as he speaks of the translation of the relics, as if it had taken place after St. Bruno entered the desert of the Grand Chartreuse, instead of before. (See, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné.* By L. T. Dassy, Priest and Missionary Oblate of Mary Immaculate.)

but not so near that their peace and solitude could be disturbed by the pilgrims who came to visit his shrine."[1]

The affection which the sons of St. Bruno felt, in their turn, for the great Egyptian monk, was strongly manifested in 1119, when Pope Calixtus II. consecrated the Church of St. Anthony. The holy relics were then taken out of their former shrine, and enclosed in a new reliquary of wood, which had been made by the Carthusian Prior, Dom Guigo I., the fourth successor of St. Bruno. The honour of touching the sacred bones was granted to the Carthusian who had brought this offering from Dom Guigo. This was Dom Soffred, Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Ecouges. He probably carried back to the Grande Chartreuse some fragments of the relics.[2]

St. Hugh celebrated Mass with great devotion at the altar of St. Anthony, and venerated the body which was sanctified by so many years of courageous penance. Afterwards, he visited the hospice, where the sufferers

[1] The distance from St. Antoine to the Grande Chartreuse is between thirty and forty miles. This certainly ought to have guaranteed the Carthusians from any encroachment on their privacy.—[ED.]

[2] Dom le Couteulx thus reconciles two different accounts; that of St Hugh's chaplain, who speaks only of Dom Guigo, and that of Aymar Falco, author of the *Historia Antoniana*, who speaks only of Dom Soffred. We observe, also, that the first historian speaks of the reliquary as being made of yew, and the second, of cypress wood. These slight differences do not prevent the two versions from coinciding in everything that is essential, the chief of which is that the authenticity of the relics of St. Anthony was solemnly recognized, and also that the monks of the Carthusian Order were among the first to venerate them. With these relics was also preserved the tunic of St. Paul, the first hermit. (Dom le Couteulx, *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. i. p. 230. Cf. *Acta Santorum*, January 17th.) [It should be added that very grave doubts must be felt as to the authenticity of these relics. At the present moment it seems uncertain whether the remains venerated in the time of St. Hugh are preserved at Arles or at St. Antoine. Both churches claim the honour of possessing St. Anthony's body. See Verger, *Vie de St. Antoine le Grand*, and Petit, *Histoire des Reliques de St. Antoine.*—ED.]

were lodged who had been attacked by the mysterious plague, called by the common people, "the sacred fire." The hope which these unfortunate creatures had placed in the protection of St. Anthony, was rewarded by many cures, of which St. Hugh's chaplain, who was an eye-witness of them, speaks with the greatest enthusiasm. "We were witnesses in this hospice," he says, "not merely of one or two, but of hundreds, or rather, I might say, of a countless multitude of prodigies. We saw young and old cured by St. Anthony of their terrible disease, and enjoying perfect health in what was left them of their bodies, notwithstanding the traces of it still to be seen in their limbs, which were frequently as if they had been burned or mutilated."[1] St. Hugh also manifested his astonishment at all these marvels, and his regret that nothing had been written to make them more widely known. His biographer made a point of breaking this silence, and we should have cause to reproach ourselves, if we did not mention his testimony here, which was prior to the fuller details afterwards published concerning the Abbey and Hospice of St. Anthony.[2]

After leaving an abundant alms for the relief of the poor sufferers, and the Antonine monks[3] who tended them, the holy Bishop set out for Grenoble. On the way, several castles were pointed out to him which had been struck by lightning, as a punishment for outrages done by their owners upon the pilgrims of St. Anthony. The Bishop of Lincoln had no cause to fear similar usage; for his name was popular throughout Dauphiné, and he was welcomed and honoured as one of the most distinguished sons of that province.

[1] See further the note at the end of this chapter.—[ED.]

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. chs. 13, 14.

[3] The French author seems to be mistaken in supposing that the Antonine monks were already established at St. Didier. It was only in 1296 that the old Benedictine monastery passed into their hands.—[ED.]

At Grenoble, his reception was almost a triumph. He made his entry into that city on the feast of St. John the Baptist, the special patron of the Carthusian Order. Public rejoicings were already in progress on account of the feast, and St. Hugh's arrival lent an additional zest to the holiday-making. The whole population went out to meet him, headed by John de Sassenage, the illustrious Bishop of Grenoble, who, it will be remembered, had decided that St. Hugh should be sent to Witham, and who had himself been a son of St. Bruno. He had governed his diocese for many years with the zeal and activity of a true apostle, and he was to display at the close of his life a still more generous devotion during the sufferings of his flock from the terrible floods of 1219. Between the two Carthusian Bishops there was naturally a close bond of sympathy, and their meeting was a most affectionate one on both sides.

The first greetings were exchanged outside the walls of the city, and then a solemn procession was formed, to conduct the man of God to the Cathedral. The streets were strewn with flowers, silken tapestries were hung from the windows, and the air rang with shouts of welcome and songs of joy. The whole city was *en fête*, and the people did all in their power to show their veneration for this beloved and honoured guest. St. Hugh sang High Mass in the Cathedral with his usual devotion; and after the Gospel, preached a sermon, so full of fervour, that nearly all who heard it were moved to tears. Something of the deep feeling of gratitude which filled his heart at thus revisiting his native province for the first time since his consecration as Bishop, must have shown itself in his words. He spoke not only as a father, but as a brother as well, and tears flowed still more abundantly, when, with perfect humility and simplicity, he recommended

himself to the prayers of all, as one, "taken from the dunghill, and made to sit down with the princes of the Church."[1]

The family of the Saint were present, and had their part in this ovation. His brother, William of Avalon, had made up his mind that St. Hugh was to christen his little son, now seven years old, and the full baptismal ceremonies had been deferred until this occasion.[2] The Bishop of Grenoble was the godfather, but Peter of Avalon, who was one of the child's uncles, wished his own name to be given to the boy. St. Hugh objected to this, and repeated the words of the Gospel for the day: "Not so, but he shall be called John"—a fitting reminder of the feast. The baptismal rite was performed with all solemnity by the Bishop of Lincoln, who afterwards spent the rest of the day with the Bishop of Grenoble, being entertained by the latter prelate with every kind and hospitable attention.

On the following morning, June 25th, at break of day, St. Hugh left Grenoble, and took the path which led to the Grande Chartreuse. It was not long before the horses refused to carry their riders any further up the narrow mountain paths, which often skirted the very edge of the precipice. All were obliged to dismount, and perform the rest of the journey on foot. St. Hugh cheerfully put himself at the head of the party, and in

[1] Psalm cxii. 7.

[2] We think it is right to interpret in this manner the words of St. Hugh's biographer, *baptizavit*, for it seems hard to suppose that the Saint would have allowed so long a delay, if the child had not been previously baptized in private. In such a case the non-essential ceremonies may be supplied later. [It is curious, however, that a decree of the Synod of Westminster, which was held, as mentioned later on, a week after St. Hugh's return to England, prescribes that when a child, in a case of necessity, had been baptized by a layman, only those ceremonies should be supplied afterwards which *followed* the pouring of the water (*sequentia immersionem non præcedentia per sacerdotem expleantur*). Hoveden, iv. p. 130.—ED.]

spite of his age and the intense heat of the day, bore the fatigue as well as any of them. He was supported by the prospect of so soon resting in that beloved home from which he had been torn against his will. As they climbed higher and higher, the air grew purer, and the sweet perfume of the pine-clad mountains refreshed him with its fragrance. Who shall say what his feelings must have been when he passed the narrow defile shut in between two colossal walls of rock, where the little River Guiers comes thundering down, jealously guarding the entrance against all intruders. At last he found himself once more in that privileged spot which seems a thousand miles distant from all the world outside. He did not feel surprise that no triumphal procession of monks came out to greet him. The strictness of their enclosure, as he well knew, relieved him of such embarrassments, and, besides, he had taken measures to reach there during the *meridiana*, the mid-day siesta then allowed to the Carthusians, who did not retire to rest again after the night Office. He made a short halt at the "lower house," which recalled the time when he was Procurator of the Grande Chartreuse. Once more he paused to take breath beside the rustic bench, where in old days he had sat with St. Peter of Tarentaise, and as he wiped the sweat from his brow he chatted to his companion of the brave old man and the talks they had had together.

So, in silence, and recollection, and a joy that had nothing of earth in it, he drew near once more to the dwelling which had been to him as the very "gate of Heaven." It was at that lovely season of the year when all nature seems to smile. The rocks were covered with verdure and flowers, the forests were clothed in beauty, and thousands of birds sang a chorus of gladness. This was a better welcome by far than the shouts of the people of Grenoble. Soon

he mounted the last slope which led straight to the monastery, and stood still for a moment to drink in with his eyes the beauty of the place, of which he had once said: "This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell, for I have chosen it."[1] In heart, he had never left it. There was the church in which he had said his first Mass; in the graveyard hard by lay his old Superiors and Brothers; there was the cloister which had sheltered his first years of solitude, there was the cell where he had prayed, and studied, and fought against the tempter. And here, at last, were to be seen his brothers in Religion, coming to meet him with a joy that was no less deep for the calm of perfect recollection. At their head walked the Prior, Dom Jancelin, who, since 1176, had governed the Carthusian Order with as much firmness as humility.[2] St. Hugh was delighted to speak with him of the progress of the family of St. Bruno, and of the numerous new foundations which had already been made, so that about thirty Carthusian monasteries had been represented at the last General Chapter of the Order. The Prior himself and his monks had also much to ask in their turn, and were eager to hear from the man of God of the events of his episcopate, and of his many trials and consolations.

St. Hugh remained three weeks at the Grande Chartreuse, leading the same life as during his retreats at Witham, following all the exercises of the community, especially the long night watches, and occupying one of the ordinary cells, probably that in which he had lived as a monk. He would have wished the solitude and silence of this too short stay to remain unbroken; but this was impossible, as he

[1] Psalm cxxxi. 14.

[2] He died in 1233, having been Prior for fifty-eight years. At his death the Carthusian Order numbered more than fifty foundations.

could not escape from the numerous visitors by whom he was besieged. As soon as his presence in the monastery was known, both ecclesiatics and lay-folk hastened to pay their respects to him, and to consult him about all their affairs. Bishops even came from a distance to be enlightened by that supernatural wisdom, the fame of which was in all men's mouths. Amongst his other visitors was the Prince-Bishop of Geneva, a former Prior of the Carthusian Monastery of Valon, whose virtue and humility had so impressed itself upon all, that even in this high dignity he was still best known as plain Brother Nanthelmus.

He told the Bishop of Lincoln of the long persecution he had suffered. For twelve years he had been exiled from his see, because he had vindicated the rights of his Church, as they had been proclaimed by his illustrious predecessor Arducius. He had excommunicated William I. Count of Geneva, whom at his request Frederick Barbarossa put under the ban of the Empire. But the Count had never submitted, and Geneva remained closed to its Bishop, who was obliged to visit the rest of his diocese more or less clandestinely.

St. Hugh received Nanthelmus with true fraternal charity, consoled him, encouraged him, and promised him assistance. It seemed a favourable moment for overcoming the obstinacy of the Count, who was dangerously ill just then. St. Hugh sent two Priors of the Carthusian Order to visit him on his sick-bed, and to beg him to make peace with his spiritual father. The terms of the message were dictated by St. Hugh himself, but the immediate results were not encouraging. The Count gave the two Religious an exceedingly cold reception and ordered them rudely enough to return whence they came.

After their departure, however, the words of the holy Bishop came back to his mind and seemed to leave him

no peace. The good works he had done in his earlier life won him no doubt some special grace, and in the end he repaired his wrong-doing, and received full absolution. Thanks to this reconciliation, the Bishop of Geneva was able to return to his Cathedral, and William I. died in peace in the bosom of the Church.[1]

Besides the nobles and prelates who came to visit the man of God, there were other persons of much more humble station, who were no less anxious to see him and listen to his words of loving wisdom. These were the poor of the parish of St. Peter of Chartreuse. To be able to receive these with greater facility, and also to enjoy the society of the lay-brothers for a short time, St. Hugh spent some days at the "Correrie," or lower house. There he was delighted to see his old friends, who were equally delighted to be recognized by him. He welcomed them affectionately, chatted familiarly and graciously about their affairs, putting himself completely on an equality with them, after the example of his Divine Master. If it had not been for his religious habit, he might have been taken for one of them. His hand was opened as widely as his heart; he made his poor friends happy with a generous alms, the value of which was doubled by the kind words which accompanied the gift. The former Procurator of the Grande Chartreuse was found to be just as simple, as compassionate, and as generous, as they remembered him to have been twenty-five years before.

If the poor found him unchanged, we may be quite sure that he had not altered his manner to his old friends the lay-brothers. As in former days, they were never weary of listening to his exhortations. They

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 14; *Annal. Ord. Cartus*, vol. iii. p. 307. Cf. *Histoire de l'Eglise de Genève*. Par. M. le Chanoine Fleury, vol. i. p. 76.

found them as full as ever of vigour and tenderness, of devotion and spiritual discernment, united to the most practical common sense. On his side also, St. Hugh was greatly edified by their regularity and fervour. He loved to make them speak of the virtues of their state of life, and found precious food for his own soul in their conversation. He especially took pleasure in listening to those who, after having frequented the broad way of the world, had left all things to enter upon the narrow path of perfection, and were looking forward in all confidence to their final reward in Heaven. There were many amongst their number who were evidently drawing near to the end of this life; and the joyous hope which shone on their countenances and was expressed in their words, found an echo in the heart of the holy Bishop, who felt himself more and more detached from earth, and drawn towards the City of the Blessed.

But the time was at last come for him to leave this happy solitude, with all its consolations, and to take up once more the burden of his episcopal duties. The evening before his departure, in the presence of Dom Jancelin and all the monks, he handed over to the Father Sacristan the most precious treasure he possessed. This was a large collection of relics which he had procured at different times and in various ways, and which he preserved in a silver reliquary, used by him in the consecration of churches. No gift could have been more acceptable to the Carthusians, who profess a traditional veneration for the saints and for their sacred remains. This particular present had all the more value, because it was bestowed by one who was himself so saintly, and in whose case it was not difficult to foresee that the day was not far off when his own relics would probably be added to these now offered for their veneration.

One treasure of great price St. Hugh still retained.

This was a gold ring, which he called his sacramental ring, because he always used it in ordinations. In the place ordinarily occupied by a seal or a precious stone, he had had a little reliquary fitted, which contained some of his choicest acquisitions.[1] He was on the point of leaving this also at the Grande Chartreuse, but was reminded that he had promised it to Our Lady of Lincoln. So, in its place, he ordered that a reliquary of gold, ornamented with precious stones, should be sent from his Cathedral Church to his old fellow-monks. His chaplain tells us that he, as St. Hugh's executor, fulfilled this order after the death of the Saint.

Then came the last farewells, and St. Hugh parted from his brothers of the Grande Chartreuse for the last time on earth. On the morrow, he again descended the mountain, invoking the favour of God and scattering his loving benedictions on the solitude he loved so well.

[1] In a long digression, St. Hugh's biographer speaks of the manner in which the Saint acquired some of his most precious relics. The ring of gold contained a tooth of St. Benedict, which had been sent to the Bishop of Lincoln by the Abbot of Fleury-sur-Loire. When they were thinking of sending for the goldsmith to insert this tooth in the little reliquary, the man himself appeared and said he knew that he was wanted for this purpose, as it had been revealed to him in a mysterious dream. The Abbey of Fécamp was believed to possess one of the bones of St. Mary Magdalen. [The Bishop himself, when putting the relic to his lips to kiss it, boldly and undisguisedly bit off two fragments to add to his treasures. When remonstrated with by the ecclesiastics standing round for what seemed to them an act of irreverence, he defended himself by saying that no relic was so sacred as the Body and Blood of Christ which he touched both with his fingers and his teeth every day in the Mass.] At Peterborough, an arm of St. Oswald, King and Martyr, was preserved. It was still covered with skin and tinged with blood, as though it had just been cut off. St. Hugh took a portion of one of the sinews from this relic and placed it in his ring. (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 14.)

## Note to Book IV. Chapter III.

The veracity of the author of the *Magna Vita* is a matter of such primary importance in the study of the life of St. Hugh, that it seems desirable to make some fuller reference to the marvellous account he has left of the miracles worked by St. Anthony. It might easily be supposed that, despite the very high opinion of his truthfulness expressed by Mr. Dimock and other authorities, an exception had perhaps to be made for his account of miraculous events, and that Abbot Adam, like some other mediæval chroniclers, threw sobriety and common sense to the winds the moment he was face to face with occurrences presumed to be supernatural. A little examination, however, of the details which are given in the *Magna Vita* only confirms instead of shaking our confidence in the writer's accuracy. It is by no means necessary to believe that St. Hugh and his chaplain were really the witnesses at St. Antoine of "hundreds, nay, a countless multitude" of real miracles, but that they were spectators of extraordinary phenomema, which, even now to the non-medical reader, sound hardly credible, there is no possible reason to doubt. The description indeed of the "sacred fire" which we owe to St. Hugh's chaplain, is conspicuously more full and precise than that of any other mediæval chronicler who alludes to the disease,[1] and does credit alike to his retentive memory,[2] and to his

[1] Most of these will be found cited by Fuchs, *Das heilige Feuer im Mittelalter* in Hecker's *Annalen* for January, 1834, and by Laveran in Dechambre's *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*, art. "Feu sacré."

[2] We may reasonably assume that this chapter, like the rest of the fifth book of the *Magna Vita*, was written in the beginning of the year 1213 (cf. *Magna Vita*, p. 290), that is, more than twelve years after the visit to St. Antoine.

power of observation. To understand what follows it will be well to quote his account a little more in detail.

"In all these miracles," says the *Magna Vita*, "the most marvellous feature is this. When the fire has been extinguished in the sufferer's limbs, the flesh or the skin, or any member which this consuming disease has gradually eaten away, is never in any case restored. But what is more extraordinary, when this raging conflagration has destroyed the limb and spared nothing but the bare bone, there is given to the maimed parts that are left, such health and soundness (*sanitas et soliditas cicatricibus ipsis residui corporis tanta confertur*) that you may see numbers of all ages and of both sexes with their arms consumed as far as the elbows or the shoulders, or their legs worn away up to and above the knees, still showing as much vigour as if they were in perfect health (*tanquam sanissimos multa alacritate pollere*). So fully does the virtue of the Saint compensate the loss of the parts which are destroyed by the soundness of those that are preserved, that even the delicate internal organs, exposed though they are sometimes, the skin and flesh being stripped from the very ribs, do not readily suffer from cold or any other injury. The traces of the wounds are horribly apparent, but he who has been wounded suffers no pain. To all who look upon them they serve as a motive for fear as well as a spur to devotion."

The witness furthur tells us that in nearly all cases the cure is worked by St. Anthony within seven days. If no relief is felt before that time the malady is generally fatal.

The disease thus minutely described, which in the middle ages repeatedly swept certain districts of France and Germany, has now happily almost disappeared, owing to the cessation in our time of the causes which produced it. There seems no doubt that the "sacred

fire" is identical with the gangrenous affection scientifically known as *ergotism*, and resulting from the use of rye bread in bad and wet seasons when the grain is in a diseased condition. Ergotism is caused by the poisonous effects of *ergot*,[1] a fungoid growth occurring in certain cereals and especially in rye, and it is obvious that the imperfect agriculture and the rude methods of preparation employed in the middle ages must considerably have increased the likelihood of the prevalence of such a malady. A few isolated outbreaks[2] have been known in modern times, sufficient for Heusinger[3] and others to be able to identify the gangrenous ergotism,[4] which undoubtedly is sometimes produced by the use of diseased grain, with the "sacred fire" of the early chroniclers.[5] I may leave the medical description to a distinguished modern authority.

"It is almost exclusively among the peasantry that symptoms of ergotism have been seen, and among children particularly. The attack usually began with intense pains in the legs or feet, causing the victims to

[1] *Ergot.* (French, *ergot*, a spur of a cock.) A name given to the fungoid growth, being the sclerotium of *claviceps purpurea*, within the paleæ of the common rye, from its likeness to a cock's spur. A similar growth is found in other gramineous plants such as wheat and maize. (*Sydenham Society's Dictionary.*)

[2] There is said to have been an epidemic of this kind in Lorraine and Burgundy in the winter of 1814–1815, and another, though much less serious, in 1855. Between the years 1770 and 1777, eight thousand people are said to have perished of this disease in the same part of France. (See Heusinger, pp. 15—17.) I am here speaking only of the gangrenous ergotism.

[3] *Studien über den Ergotismus*, 1856, pp. 1—13.

[4] There is another sort of ergotism, the convulsive variety, which springs from the same cause but produces a sort of St. Vitus' dance. It is known in German as *Kriebelkrankheit.*

[5] Cf. *Journal de l'Institut Historique*, 1841, p. 37, "Recherches sur l'Origine de la Maladie nommée Feu des Ardents au Moyen Age," par V. M. de Moussy. It would seem, however, from the researches of Laveran, that the *feu sacré* is *not* to be identified with the *feu des ardents*, though the two are commonly confused.

writhe and scream. A fire seemed to burn between the flesh and the bones, . . . the surface of the body being all the while cold as ice. Sometimes the skin of the affected limbs became livid and black; now and then large blebs, or blisters, arose upon it, as in bad kinds of erysipelas. Gangrene, or sloughing of the extremities, followed; a foot or a hand fell off, or the flesh of a whole limb was destroyed down to the bone by a process which began in the deeper textures. The spontaneous separation of a hand or foot was, on the whole, a good sign for the recovery of the patient. Such was the *ignis sacer*,[1] or *ignis S^i. Antonii*, which figures prominently, I am told, in the French legends of saints, and of which epidemics are recorded in the French mediæval chronicles."[2]

Dr. Creighton, with good reason, as it seems to me, considers that no adequate proof is forthcoming of the prevalence of any such malady in England during the middle ages, at any rate on a large scale.[3] But he refers at the same time to a very interesting sporadic case which occurred at Wattisham, Suffolk, in 1762, and which is described in *Philosophical Transactions*. A family, who it was afterwards proved had been living upon bread made entirely of damaged wheat, were attacked one after another by symptoms which exactly agree with what St. Hugh and his chaplain witnessed at St. Antoine. A violent pain, which one of the sufferers described to be as if dogs were gnawing her, was followed by the blackening of the extremities and the

[1] It has been suggested to me by a medical friend that the name "sacred *fire*" is probably owing to the blackened, we might almost say the charred, appearance of the extremities affected. In German it is noteworthy that the word for gangrene is *brand*, which etymologically must mean a burning. Thus *gangræna senilis* is rendered by *Brand der alten*.

[2] Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, vol. i. p. 54.

[3] There seems to be some evidence for the existence of occasional outbreaks of convulsive ergotism, but not of the gangrenous variety.

separation of the flesh from the bones. After which returning health seems to have left them almost immediately in a perfectly normal state. A medical witness states:

"I was exact in my inquiries about each particular person. By what I could learn from them in about four, five, or six days,[1] the diseased leg began to grow less painful and to turn black gradually; appearing at first covered with spots as if it had been bruised. The other leg began to be affected at that time with the same excruciating pain, and in a few days that also began to mortify. In a very little time both legs were perfectly sphacelated. The mortified parts separated without assistance from the sound parts, and the surgeon had, in most of the cases, no other trouble, than to cut through the bone with little or no pain to the patient. The separation was in most of them about two inches below the knee; in some rather lower; and in one child the feet separated at the ankle without any assistance from the surgeon. . . . This is their present state:

"*Mary*, the mother, ætat. 40. The right foot off at the ankle; the left leg mortified, a mere bone, but not off.

"*Mary*, ætat. 15. One leg off below the knee: the other perfectly sphacelated, but not yet off.

"*Elizabeth*, ætat 13. Both legs off below the knees.

"*Sarah*, ætat 10. One foot off at the ankle.

"*Robert*, ætat 8. Both legs off below the knees.

"*Edward*, ætat 4. Both feet off at the ankles.

"An infant, four months old, dead."

The writer goes on to speak of the extraordinary recovery which seems to be a feature of the disease. "It is remarkable, that, during all the time of this calamity, the whole family are said to have appeared in other respects well. They eat heartily and slept well

[1] This agrees well with the limit of seven days assigned by St. Hugh's chaplain in the *Magna Vita*.

when the pain began to abate. When I saw them they all seemed free from fever. . . . One poor boy, in particular, looked as healthy and florid as possible, and was sitting on the bed, quite jolly, drumming with his stumps."[1]

Now it is very intelligible that to those unfamiliar with the disease—and St. Anthony's fire does not seem to have been known in England—the whole of the spectacle described in the *Magna Vita*, and so exactly reproduced on a smaller scale in the Suffolk case, would have appeared as something miraculous. The hundreds of sufferers so strangely afflicted, the arrest of the disease and cessation of pain, and then the extraordinary healing of these ghastly wounds, all which medical science now tells us to be quite normal and calculable, might well seem to men of that day to lie outside the operation of natural causes. It looks extremely probable that the change of air, and no doubt also of diet, together with the more generous nourishment provided at the hospice by the alms of the faithful, will have acted beneficially in the great majority of cases. Small wonder, then, and still less blame to them, that the patients should gratefully have referred this improvement in their condition to the intercession of St. Anthony. On the other hand, the exactitude of the narrator being thus confirmed in a matter which, to his contemporaries at least, would have seemed least probable, we have additional reason to trust his perfect truthfulness in matters where really there is reason to invoke some supernatural explanation.—[ED.]

[1] *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lii. pp. 524—527.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *FROM THE GRANDE CHARTREUSE TO CLUNY.*

As he descended from the Grande Chartreuse, St. Hugh visited the Priory of Domène, situated not far from Grenoble, and belonging to the Abbey of Cluny. It was founded by a nobleman named Aynard (to whose family probably belonged the Carthusian Brother Aynard, of whom we have previously spoken), and had been at one time under the rule of Peter the Venerable, who established the most friendly relations with his Carthusian neighbours. At the time when St. Hugh paid this visit, the pious and able Prior who then governed it had long been begging for an opportunity of conversing with the Bishop of Lincoln. He came out, therefore, with all his monks to meet his honoured guest, and welcomed him as if he had been an angel of God. The occasion was a memorable one to him, and it was kept by the monks as a festival of the first order.

St. Hugh could not refuse to pay a similar compliment to the Priory of Villard-Benoît, where he had received his first training in the religious life. It was not far from Domène, but on his way lay the Castle of Avalon, where he remained for two days with his two worthy brothers, William and Peter. They were brave Christian knights, full of faith and devotion to the Church. Far from condemning the course which Hugh had taken in his struggles against the encroachments

of secular authority, they had always encouraged him to act in a manner worthy of his position, and never to yield to threats.[1] Abbot Adam tells us that, whether absent or present, they constantly spurred him on to aim higher and higher in the pursuit of virtue, and that they used openly to say of their Bishop brother: "We had rather he had never been born, than that he should ever dishonour his family by flinching for one moment in his defence of the liberties of the Church."

It is evident that the lords of Avalon were not without pride in the blood which flowed in their veins, and though St. Hugh needed no such motive to make him staunch in his resistance, he must have been glad to feel that his brothers' sympathy had always been given to the right side. In the home of his ancestors, St. Hugh was received with the greatest respect as the ornament and glory of the family. The knight of the sanctuary had distanced his brothers of the camp in the credit he had brought upon their house. The whole country-side joined in the welcome, and nobles and peasants, rich and poor, assembled at the castle to do him honour.

At Villard-Benoît a still more touching scene was enacted. The good Canons were proud beyond measure to see their former comrade once more in their midst, and we must not blame them if they took some credit to themselves for training up so worthy an imitator of their great patron, St. Augustine. St. Hugh presented them with a beautiful Bible, of the value of ten silver

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 14. These words seem to imply that they not unfrequently visited their brother in England. The fact that there is mention of one of St. Hugh's brothers named Peter, to whom he gave an estate at Histon, Cambridgeshire, points to the same conclusion. This donation was confirmed by King John two days after St. Hugh's funeral. (*Rotuli Chartarum*, Edit. Hardy, p. 80.) There was also a William of Avalon, who was Canon of Lincoln in 1222 (See Dimock, *Vita Metrica*, p. 40), and another William, a cousin of the Saint. (Cf. p. 280, *ante*.)—[ED.]

marks, as a proof of his lasting attachment. His blessing would seem to have rested on the spot, for even after the secularization of the Chapter of Grenoble, it was at Villard-Benoît, towards the end of the sixteenth century, that the Congregation of the Discalced Augustinians was introduced into France, and spread from thence into other localities.[1] From Villard-Benoît, St. Hugh returned to the Castle of Avalon, halting on his way to visit the Church of Saint-Maximin, where, with the title of Prior, he had discharged the functions of parish priest. He was soon surrounded by a crowd of old men and women, in whom he recognized the survivors of his former flock. These good people boasted with no little pride that they had foreseen, in his youth, what his career in after-life would be, and that they had recognized him for a saint at the very beginning of his ministry. Blessed is he whose life from its commencement to its close has been unswervingly faithful to the promptings of grace! Happy is the old man who, drawing near to the end of his course, can look back upon the past, and feel, as Holy Scripture expresses it, that "the path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day!"[2]

But the time was now come for the Saint to tear himself away from the tender memories of his native Burgundy. He spent but a single night at Avalon, and then resolutely set his face northwards.

In the Cathedral of Belley, where we next hear of him, he found the tomb of his favourite, St. Anthelmus,

[1] It was divided into three provinces: that of Paris, that of Dauphiné, and that of Provence. Louis XIII. founded the monastery at Paris, dedicated to Our Lady of Victories, in memory of the taking of La Rochelle. (See Hélyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques; Les Augustins déschaussés.*)

[2] Proverbs iv. 18.

held in veneration and honoured by many miracles. Here also he had another consolation. The Cathedral was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and in it was preserved half of one of the hands of the great Precursor of our Lord: it was still covered with flesh, and had three of the fingers intact, the middle one and the two smaller ones. "This precious relic was enclosed in a small shrine, and the whole was closely covered with a veil. For a long time past no one had ventured to remove the veil, and look upon the sacred treasure. St. Hugh, a faithful imitator of St. John the Baptist, and full of love for him, expressed a great desire to see the relic. The canons, who had charge of it, gave a willing consent, and were only too glad to find a man of such holiness of life to whom they could commit, without scruple, the handling of their sacred treasure.[1] The Bishop prepared himself by sacramental confession, absolution, and many prayers.[2] Then, in the presence of a number of devout spectators, who attentively watched his proceedings, the reliquary was uncovered and given to St. Hugh. St. Hugh took into his hands, with the deepest veneration, the sacred

[1] The feeling of awe, not to say terror, excited in the middle ages by famous relics, was very remarkable, and St. Hugh evidently considered that it was often carried to extravagant lengths. In the case of the relic of St. Mary Magdalen, mentioned in the last chapter (p. 477, note), none of the clergy for many generations past had dared to uncover it, and the protest aroused by the Bishop's biting off a fragment seems largely to have been motived by alarm at the temerity of the act. Still, as to the question of reverence, St. Hugh's reply is unanswerable.—[ED.]

[2] The text of the *Magna Vita* does not seem to me to suggest that St. Hugh prepared himself by confession to examine the relics, but that the confession was made by those who devoutly assisted at the inspection and received the blessing. The words are: "Præmissa peccatorum confessione, absolutione et oratione subjuncta . . . sanctuarium illud cunctis præsentibus palam inspiciendum ostenditur." I am inclined to think that this was not a sacramental confession and absolution, but simply the public recitation of the *Confiteor* which is still made when a Bishop grants an Indulgence and solemnly gives his blessing.—[ED.]

fingers which had touched our Lord's forehead at His Baptism, covered them with his kisses, then, raising the relic above his head, he made with it the sign of the Cross over the awe-stricken and prostrate crowd. He cut off a small piece of the very ancient material which lined the interior of the reliquary, to keep as a memorial, and allowed the monk to kiss it who witnessed the whole scene, and has left us this account of it."[1]

Leaving Belley, which had been governed by several Carthusian Bishops during the past hundred years,[2] St. Hugh next went to visit one who after St. Anthelmus might perhaps be counted the most illustrious of them all. This was St. Arthaldus, or Arthaut, who had resigned his bishopric, and had retired to the Carthusian monastery of Arvières. He was of noble birth, and had in early years fled from worldly honours to lead a life of solitude in the cloister.

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 14; *Vie de St. Anthelme*, by Mgr. Marchal, p. 192. It would no doubt be more than rash to pronounce upon the authenticity of this relic, but it is worthy of notice that the difficulty which has been often urged against the authenticity of another relic of the same Saint, has been satisfactorily set at rest. Rome, Genoa, and Amiens, all claim to possess the skull of the Baptist, and it was, perhaps, not unnatural for scoffers to declare that, if these are genuine, the Saint must have had as many heads as Cerberus. Cardinal Wiseman, however, by an exceptional piece of good fortune, had the opportunity of inspecting at his leisure two of these relics; and he testifies that, instead of being complete skulls, they are only portions, as indeed some ancient writers long ago declared them to be. The front part of the head, a mere mask, is at Amiens, and a shell sliced off from the hinder part is at Rome. Genoa presumably retains the middle portion. The lecture of Cardinal Wiseman in which these facts are detailed, entitled, *The Truth of Supposed Legends*, seems, somehow or other, to have escaped republication. It exists only in a short-hand report, but it is to be found in the first volume of *Essays on Religion and Literature* (read before the Catholic Academia), pp. 235—286.—[ED.]

[2] Pontius de Balmey, Bernard de Portes, St. Anthelmus, Raynald, St. Arthaldus, and Bernard, who was Bishop of Belley at the time of this visit of St. Hugh.

After being professed at Portes, he became Prior of Arvières, where for many years he gave an example of the highest perfection, and used the influence he had acquired to intervene in the disputes resulting from the schism of Octavian. Pope Alexander III. listened to him with a deference which showed the high opinion he had conceived of the humble Carthusian Prior. In 1184, he was elected Bishop of Belley. In vain did he take to flight to escape from this dignity; a miraculous light betrayed his hiding-place, and obliged him to yield to the wishes of the electors. In his episcopal palace, he continued to lead the life of a Carthusian, not, however, neglecting any of his pastoral duties. His charity to the poor and afflicted; his great success in converting sinners; his love of peace, which helped to put an end to many a bitter quarrel, and his unwearying activity in good works, gained for him the love and veneration of all. But in 1190, he obtained permission from Clement III. to return to his beloved solitude, and end his days as a simple monk. He was nearly a hundred years old when he heard of St. Hugh's arrival at Belley. He had long desired to see the holy Bishop of Lincoln, and at once sent messengers to beg for a visit from him. St. Hugh could not turn a deaf ear to his request. He quitted the high-road to climb the steep rocks which led to the Carthusian monastery of Arvières, a wild retreat overhanging the deep gorges of the Grand-Colombier.[1] It was on the feast of St. James and of St. Christopher (July 25th) that the two Carthusian Bishops met. Although they were not of the same age, they both longed ardently for Heaven, and were both stricken by that incurable home-sickness which made St. Paul cry out: "I have a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."[2] All their conversation turned upon this subject, of which the hearts of both were full. The

[1] It then belonged to the diocese of Geneva. [2] Philipp. i. 23.

other monks wished to catch the echo of these heavenly discourses, and a recreation was accorded at which the two holy men took part. In the familiar freedom of conversation, St. Arthaldus made a request which surprised his visitor. He asked St. Hugh to acquaint the Religious with the terms of the Peace of Andely, which had been signed in his presence by the Kings of England and France. As this was a political event of the deepest import for the tranquillity of the whole country, St. Arthaldus doubtless thought that there was sufficient reason for departing from the ordinary rules of the cloister. But St. Hugh deemed otherwise. He replied in a tone of gentle and respectful pleasantry: "Oh, my venerable lord and father, it is right enough for bishops to hear and retail news, but surely not for monks. It is not fitting that news should penetrate the enclosure of our cells. You would not have me leave the haunts of men in order to carry a budget of news into the desert." And so saying, he turned the conversation again to spiritual matters. St. Arthaldus was greatly edified by this conduct, and the whole community united in thanking him for his visit and his words of wisdom. They also expressed their gratitude for the alms he had previously obtained for them from King Henry II.; and then the two holy old men took leave of each other, to meet again only in the happier country of the blessed, towards which all their desires were turned. The younger of the two was the first to go home. St. Arthaldus lived until 1206: he was one hundred and five years old at the time of his death.[1]

Continuing his journey to England, St. Hugh of Lincoln stopped for three days at the celebrated Abbey of Cluny. "Among the many different monastic Orders, he had a special affection, after his own Carthusian solitaries, for the monks of Cluny, and all those who,

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 14; *Annal. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 320.

wearing the same habit, led a similar life of busy retirement and cloistered silence.[1] It was the example of St. Hugh of Grenoble which had inspired him with this attachment." The Bishop of Lincoln often took pleasure in relating an incident which proved the affection of the earlier St. Hugh for the Benedictine habit with which he had been clothed at Chaise-Dieu. Even after he had been compelled by an order of the Sovereign Pontiff to reassume the government of his Church of Grenoble, he still continued to wear the Benedictine dress, and his black garb presented a great contrast to the white habit of the Carthusians, with whom he spent much of his time. One day, some of the Carthusian monks made a remark to him upon this. "My lord Bishop," they said, "you are so generous to our Order; you load us with benefits; you take a pleasure in living amongst us, as though you were one of ourselves; why do you not give up your black habit, and wear white, as we do?" St. Hugh of Grenoble replied: "This habit, dark as it is, has never done me any wrong. Why then should I insult it by laying it aside?"[2]

Another friend of St. Bruno, the Blessed Urban II., was a monk of Cluny, and Peter the Venerable also, in the long period during which he presided over that monastery, had knit together still more closely the ties which from the beginning had bound his own Order to

[1] These were the *Black* Monks, the Benedictines *par excellence*, to which Order St. Hugh's chaplain belonged.

[2] The biographer of St. Hugh of Lincoln tells us that the Saint often related this incident of his namesake, to console his chaplain for the like contrast which existed between the black habit of the Benedictines and his own white Carthusian habit. "Hæc quidem sanctus de sancto, de Hugone Hugo, ad ædificationem nostram qui ei candidis induto adhærebamus in schemate nigro, referre solitus erat." These words show clearly enough that St. Hugh's chaplain was at any rate not a Carthusian. [It is curious that Carthusian writers, like the author of the British Museum MS. Addit. 17085, though evidently familiar with the *Magna Vita*, should ever have supposed the contrary.—ED.]

that of St. Bruno. Devotion to the souls in Purgatory had been a special connecting link between these two religious families. The Chapter of Cluny had decided that on the death of any Carthusian, the Office for the Dead and a Requiem Mass should be said for the repose of his soul; that all the monks who were priests, should say a private Mass for him; that the monks who were not priests should recite the seven Penitential Psalms, or the *Miserere* seven times; that one Office for the Dead and one Mass should be said for him in each dependent priory; and that the names of all deceased Carthusians should be inscribed in the necrology after those of their own Cluniac brethren.[1] On the other side, the Chapter of the Carthusian Order had decreed that Peter the Venerable and his successors should have an Office and a Mass said for them after death, just as the suffrages were said for the Priors of their own Order, that for all the deceased members of the Order of Cluny, a conventual Mass should be celebrated once a year without counting the prayers said privately, that the monks who were priests should each offer a private Mass for the same intention; and that all monks who were not priests should recite one Psalter, and the lay-brothers three hundred *Paters*.[2]

The remembrance of this pious contract would have been quite sufficient to draw St. Hugh to Cluny; but there was yet another attraction for him. Dom Basil, the Prior of blessed memory, who had received him at

[1] *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, par J. Henri Pignot, vol. iii. p. 275; Migne, *P.L.* vol. clxxix. p. 478.

[2] Dom le Masson, *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. i. p. 102. Henry († 1171), Bishop of Winchester, and a great benefactor of both Carthusians and Cluniacs, was also included in this arrangement, and was to have the same suffrages said for him as the Cluniac Abbots. Henry of Blois, who was the brother of King Stephen, had been brought up as a child at Cluny, and was described by Peter the Venerable as the greatest benefactor the house had ever had. Three years before his death he gave away all his goods in charity, leaving himself only the bare means of subsistence. (Cf. Pignot iii. pp. 277 nd 499.)—[Ed.]

the Grande Chartreuse, and had favoured him with a consoling apparition after death, had also shown great affection for the Cluniacs, and had spent some time with them under the guidance of Peter the Venerable, before joining the sons of St. Bruno. He never lost his attachment for that gentle and learned Abbot, who was one of the glories of the twelfth century, and wrote to him as follows: "When I was poor and destitute of all things, instead of despising me, you warmed me in your bosom, and prepared me for the salutary yoke of religious life, by study and prayer. The memory of Cluny, of its admirable discipline, and its amiable and venerable community, has always supported me, and still supports me to-day, in my struggle after perfection. It was a sublime spectacle,[1] which not every one has been privileged to behold, and which I can never forget, to witness the strict and solemn discipline which reigned in the choir, in the refectory, in the dormitory, in the cloister, and in every part of the monastery."[2]

In the year 1200, at the time of St. Hugh's visit, Cluny still deserved this panegyric, and its monks had not ceased to walk in the path of perfection traced out for them by Peter the Venerable. The Bishop of Lincoln received the welcome which was due to his rank and merits. On his arrival, he was edified to see how faithfully the monks of Cluny observed the rules prescribed by St. Benedict for the reception of guests. The community advanced in procession to meet him, and asked his blessing. Then the Grand Prior[3] con-

[1] In the time of Peter the Venerable, Cluny was peopled by 460 monks, in which calculation only choir monks apparently were counted.—[ED.]

[2] *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny*, loc. cit. p. 274.

[3] *Dominus prior*. By these words, we do not think the Lord Abbot is meant, but the Grand Prior of Cluny, who was the principal figure in the ceremony of reception, either on account of the absence of the Abbot, or because such was the custom of the Order. The Abbot of Cluny at that time was Hugh V., who had formerly been Abbot of Reading, in England,

ducted him to the parlour, accompanied by twelve of the oldest monks. The Bishop was invited to sit down, and one of the monks read before him a chapter from St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. The Prior, then making a sign to the reader to stop, turned to the honoured guest, who pronounced the *Benedicite*, which was the formula in use for beginning conversation in the cloister. Thus was fulfilled the injunction of St. Benedict, which runs thus: "Let some words of the Divine Law be read before the newly-arrived guest, that he may receive edification; and then let every sort of kindness and hospitality be shown to him." The monks of Cluny begged St. Hugh to rest a little with them before pursuing his journey. He consented, and for three days took part in the religious exercises of the community, the mother-house of so many other monasteries. He was greatly impressed by all he saw, and before his departure he said to them: "In very truth, if I had come here, before my love had been drawn to my dear Charterhouse, I should have been a monk of Cluny." It was St. Hugh's own lively and gracious way of expressing the same admiration which had moved his father, Dom Basil. Cluny could wish for no testimony more conclusive to the spirit of religious discipline which, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, still made it, despite some occasional intervals of relaxation, one of the glories of the monastic world.

and had probably known St. Hugh. He gave to his monks statutes full of wisdom, and conformable to the spirit of Peter the Venerable, of whom he was the worthy imitator. (See Migne, *Patrol.* t. ccix. pp. 881—906.)

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 15.

## CHAPTER V.

### *FROM CLUNY TO LONDON.*

The affection of St. Hugh for Cluny did not prevent him from going also to Cîteaux. The two great Benedictine Orders, in their habits of different hue, and with their different observances, were still united in an unwearying devotion to the cause of the Church and the Papacy. We are not going to speak here of the wonderful developments of the Cistercian Order, founded some fourteen years after that of St. Bruno, which was not without its influence upon the austere reform begun by St. Robert of Molesme, nor of the developments of the new Order under Blessed Alberic and St. Stephen Harding, and especially after the accession to its ranks of the great St. Bernard. According to the historian Hurter: "In the year 1162, the new Order already numbered seven hundred Bishops and Abbots, and one of its members had ascended the Papal throne, under the title of Eugenius III. The unchanging devotion shown by the Order to the Head of the Church was the cause of many Cistercians being called upon to take part in the councils of the Holy See."[1] St. Peter of Tarentaise had belonged to this religious family, and it was from him that our St. Hugh had learned to love and admire the discipline which prevailed in it. Neither must we

[1] Hurter, *Tableau des Institutions de l'Eglise au Moyen Age*, vol. ii. p. 440.

forget the friendship of St. Bernard for Dom Guigo I. of the Grande Chartreuse, nor the remarkable words of the latter in favour of the Cistercian Rule.

It was on the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, August 15th, that St. Hugh arrived at the Abbey of Cîteaux, where he celebrated Holy Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin, the special Patroness of both Carthusians and Cistercians. This great monastery was one of the privileged places not included in the Interdict which was still hanging over France, and which was to last until the following month (September 7th). After having satisfied his devotion, and recommended himself to the prayers of the good monks,[1] St. Hugh again departed for the Carthusian Monastery of Lugni, near Châtillon-sur-Seine;[2] and from thence directed his steps to the famous Abbey of Clairvaux, being attracted thither by his devotion to St. Bernard, and by a pressing invitation from Jean de Bellesmes (or Belmeis), formerly Archbishop of Lyons. This prelate had been a friend of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and had tried to bring about his reconciliation with King Henry II.; he had also honoured St. Thomas after his martyrdom, by endowing a Chapter under his name, in the Church of Nôtre Dame de Fourvière. After governing the Church in Lyons for ten years, having previously been Bishop of Poitiers, he had retired to Clairvaux in 1193, where he spent the rest of his life in contemplation and the study of theology. By command of the Pope, he still retained his episcopal dignity, and Innocent III. wrote three letters to him, one of which contained some important explanations concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and began by

[1] The Abbot of Cîteaux was at that time Guigo II. He afterwards became Cardinal Bishop of Preneste. (*Gallia christiana*, vol. iv. p. 980.)

[2] This monastery was founded about 1179, by Gauthier de Bourgogne, Bishop of Langres.

praising the learning and virtue of the venerable Archbishop. Jean de Bellesmes knew of the sanctity of Hugh of Lincoln, and had long desired to meet him. Therefore, he sent messengers, urgently begging for the favour of a visit.

St. Hugh was glad to avail himself of this invitation, which gave him the opportunity of beholding the spot hallowed by the memory of the great Abbot of Clairvaux. In company with the former Archbishop of Lyons, he walked round all those vast piles of monastic buildings, which had inspired St. Bernard with the beautiful words which follow: "The cloister is a true Paradise. It is a city of delights, protected by a strong rampart of discipline, and abounding in all precious treasures. Here are to be found men, all actuated by the same love of God—brothers, finding their great happiness in living under the same roof. That is the spectacle we are proud of presenting to the world. In this blessed haven of refuge may be found one man weeping over his sins, and another singing the praises of the Lord; here is one occupied in works of charity for his brothers, while another is instructing beginners in sacred science; one is praying, another is reading; one is moved with compassion for sinners, another is preparing to punish sin; this man is burning with the flames of Divine Love, that other is distinguished by his deep humility; one man is engaged in active labours; another rests in the sweet repose of Divine contemplation. Who is there, that at such a sight as this, would not exclaim: This is the camp of the Lord of hosts! This is indeed the house of God, and the gate of Heaven!"[1]

As he talked of holy things with Jean de Bellesmes, St. Hugh, knowing his taste for reading the Holy Scripture, asked him which among the Sacred Books

[1] St. Bernard, *Serm. Divers*, 42. n. 4.

was his special favourite. "It is the Book of Psalms," replied the Archbishop. "I make it my constant subject of meditation, and in it I find a charm that is ever new, which captivates my understanding, and an unfailing food which nourishes and strengthens my soul."[1] St. Hugh could only admire so refined a taste. A few days afterwards he parted from his venerable friend, who was soon to follow him to the grave, and set out for Reims, where he stayed two days.

The memory of St. Bruno was still cherished in this city, where he had taught so brilliantly, and struggled so nobly, for the honour of the Church. About the year 1136, the monks of his Order were sent for by the Abbot Odo and the Religious of the Abbey of St. Remi at Reims; and the Carthusian Monastery of Mont-Dieu was founded, on the banks of the River Bar, between Mouzon and Sedan. The Bishop of Lincoln now took up his abode in this same monastery, and received a hearty welcome. He specially admired the great number of manuscripts preserved in the library, and saw, says his biographer, in these trophies of persevering labour, "a reproach to the idleness of the men of our day, who not only will not imitate the industry of their forefathers in transcribing and composing valuable books, but who have not even the energy to read those that have been copied for them, nor the good sense to take care of the books which others have left;" a criticism which shows us that St. Hugh's great love for books and study remained with him up to the very end of his life. Before he left the Abbey of St. Remi, St. Hugh saw and venerated the holy *ampulla*, that vessel alleged to have been "brought by a dove to the blessed Remi, and filled with a sacred balm which was continually renewed in such a manner,

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 15. Cf. Migne, *Patrol.* t. ccix. p. 873.

that it never failed when needed for the consecration of the kings of France."[1]

St. Hugh then visited the Carthusian Monastery of Val-Saint-Pierre, in the forest of Tiérache, in the diocese of Laon; and continued his journey to the port of Wissant, from whence he intended to embark for England. But as he was very much fatigued by all his travels, and as the feast of our Lady's Nativity was drawing near, he stopped at Saint-Omer, knowing that there was a Cistercian monastery in the vicinity of this town, where he would be able to celebrate Mass. He took advantage of the three days which still remained before the feast, to be bled,[2] in hopes of thus getting rid of a feeling of weakness and general discomfort which seemed to have taken hold of him. The remedy only aggravated the evil. The Bishop could take no food after the operation was over. He lay down upon his bed, and broke out into a profuse perspiration which continued the whole of the day, and during the greater part of the following night. His weakness was increased by a loathing for food of any kind, so that he eat scarcely anything for three days.

Notwithstanding this state of exhaustion, on the eve of the feast, September 7th, 1200, he went to the Abbey of Clairmarais, near Saint-Omer. The Abbot, whose name was Gerard of Champagne, and all the Cistercian monks of the Abbey, received him with great veneration, and wished to offer hospitality to all his attendants. But St. Hugh would not consent to this, and sent them all back to the town, with the exception

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 15. See also the *Life of St. Remi*, by Hincmar of Reims. (Migne, *Patrol.* t. cxxv. col. 1160.)

[2] He wished in this way to secure the rest he deemed necessary after being bled. Twice he had had occasion to reprove his chaplain for having said Mass on the morning after undergoing this operation. He always feared lest some accident might happen, on account of the state of weakness in which it left the patient.

of his chaplain and one lay-brother. He asked to be allowed to go to the infirmary, where two Religious served him and took care of him with respectful charity. He was still unable to take food, but he could not refuse to let them wash his feet, which they did very reverently and devoutly. Touched by their gentle kindness, St. Hugh gave them a fervent blessing and prayed God to reward them. Some time afterwards, one of these monks became Abbot and the other Prior of Clairmarais, and in these positions St. Hugh's chaplain found them, during his exile from England, in after-years.

On the next day, which was Friday, the feast of our Lady's Nativity, St. Hugh celebrated Holy Mass with great fervour, and returned, still fasting, to his lodging in Saint-Omer. He felt notably better in health, thanks to the protection of the Mother of God, and passed the rest of the day in peace. While he was thus reposing, they brought him a miraculous loaf of bread, from which, as soon as it was cut, blood flowed, as from a newly-made wound. Several other similar loaves had been found in the town, which was in a great state of excitement over this marvellous occurrence. It appeared that on the preceding Sunday, a baker of the town had been working all day, kneading the dough and preparing the leaven for a batch of bread, which he baked during the following night. On Monday when he took the loaves out of the oven, one of them fell and broke in two; a stream of blood trickled from it, and made a pool all round it. Terrified beyond measure, the baker again broke the loaf, and more blood flowed. He tried other loaves, and all presented the same phenomenon. More and more terrified, he did his best to conceal all traces of the loaves, but some of his workmen or neighbours had witnessed the marvel, and the news soon spread.

The miraculous loaves were discovered, and passed from one to the other, being regarded as a manifestation of the Divine anger against those that dared to break the Sunday rest. Fragments of them were taken to various churches and monasteries, where they were preserved in evidence of this reputed miracle.[1]

On the next day, which was Saturday, September 9th, St. Hugh arrived at Wissant, with all his attendants, and at daybreak on the morning of the 10th, he embarked for England, recommending himself to the protection of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin, who was specially honoured in those days as the patroness of sailors. "All sailors and all those who undertake a sea voyage," writes St. Hugh's chaplain in a passage which throws an interesting side-light on contemporary manners, "first look to Mary, the Star of the Sea, to guide their course, and then they pray to St. Anne, the mother of Mary, and make her some little offering, to obtain a favourable wind. Hugh had always felt great devotion for St. Anne, and after her august Daughter, he honoured her with a special love, and had often received assistance from her in many dangers." On this occasion, she again showed her benevolence to him. There was very little wind when he first embarked, but it soon blew from the right quarter, and carried the vessel swiftly and safely to the English shore.

Arriving at Dover in a few hours, the Saint found many friends assembled to greet him. But his first thought was to hasten at once to the church, where he celebrated a Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin,

[1] St. Hugh's chaplain says that he himself kept a large piece of one of them. The same thing happened in England about the same time, during the sermons of Eustace, Abbot of Fleay, against the profanation of Sunday. (See Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. i. pp. 297—301.) For some further remarks upon this miracle, see the Note at the end of the chapter.—[ED.]

which was to be the last Mass of his life. No greater proof could have been given of the intensity of his devotion to the Holy Eucharist and the Blessed Mother of God, than this last effort of piety, in his weak and exhausted state, after so many journeys, and in spite of the illness, which was making rapid strides. After satisfying his devotion at the altar, St. Hugh joyfully welcomed his friends, and spent with them a day that was full of consolation.

On the morrow he arrived at Canterbury. His first visit was to the Cathedral. First of all, he visited the high altar, dedicated to our Saviour; and then he knelt at each of the other altars in turn. Before the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket he prayed a long time with great fervour, recommending himself and all those he loved to the intercession of the holy martyr. For himself he did not ask for the cure of this malady, which he felt to be gaining ground, but he asked rather that he might soon join in Heaven this heroic defender of the Church, whose faithful imitator he had been. He had not shed his blood for the Church; the opportunity of martyrdom had not been his, but he had fought for her, he had suffered for her, he had defended her before kings and princes, with a courage as dauntless as that of St. Thomas himself; and he could say with the holy confidence of St. Paul: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just Judge, will render to me in that day."[1]

When he had finished his prayers at the blessed martyr's shrine, he was conducted from the church by the monks, headed by their Prior, Geoffrey,[2] an energetic man, who had bravely defended the interests

[1] 2 Timothy iv. 7, 8.

[2] Appointed in 1191. Living in 1205. (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 139.)

of his community against the encroachments of the Archbishop. St. Hugh was thus able to obtain the latest information on the progress of the dispute, which Pope Innocent III. had bidden him bring to an issue. He had been so much taken up by the affairs of his own diocese, and afterwards by his journeys in France, that he had committed the charge of this affair to the Dean of his Chapter, Roger of Rolleston. And perhaps he was not sorry thus to avoid anything that might have looked like retaliation upon the Archbishop, who had given him much cause for complaint. The affair had therefore been amicably arranged, according to the wish of the Sovereign Pontiff, by the Dean of Lincoln, assisted by the Bishop of Ely and the Abbot of St. Edmund's. Sufficient concessions were made on both sides to ensure a lasting peace. The monks consented to allow the Archbishop to erect a church, with a new foundation, in the place he had chosen. The Archbishop promised that this church should not be served by secular canons, but by monks of the Premonstratensian Order, and that their number should never be less than thirteen, or more than twenty.[1]

Nevertheless, this arrangement was not accepted very heartily, until it had the support of St. Hugh, who doubtless paved the way for a full reconciliation, during this last visit to Canterbury, and completed it on his death-bed a little later.[2] His stay in Canterbury made

[1] Roger Hoveden, vol. iv. pp. 126—128; *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, p. 512.

[2] I can find no sufficient authority for this assertion of the French biographer. The reference in the *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 12, p. 135, seems to me to convey no more than that St. Hugh in his last illness was consoled by the news that the Archbishop and the Christ Church monks had at last come to terms. The award of the Papal Commissioners, who with the consent of the parties settled the matter as arbitrators, is dated November 6th, just ten days before the Saint's death. There is no allusion to St. Hugh's intervention in the matter to be found in the letters written by both parties to the Pope some time later. See *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, pp. 514—518.—[ED.]

a great impression upon all the city. The royal justices and noblemen who were there at the time, hastened to visit him, and were grieved and alarmed to see the unmistakable signs of his failing health. St. Hugh consoled them, saying calmly: "The crosses which the Lord sends to His servants are very sweet to them." Indeed, it was with a secret joy that he was conscious of an ever-increasing weakness, which promised him a speedy deliverance. His chaplain especially remarked one little circumstance, which showed how clearly he foresaw his approaching death. His sight had been gradually growing weaker for some time past, and the dust and heat during this last journey had affected it very much, so that his anxious chaplains begged him to make use of some remedy. He invariably replied to this advice: "No; these eyes of mine will last me quite as long as I shall have need to use them." There was never any outward change visible in his calm and penetrating gaze, nor did his eyes lose any of the peculiar beauty which distinguished them, and which left the impression that the better part of the soul was somewhere far away.

An important event called him from Canterbury to London. All the Bishops in England had been summoned there for a national Council by Archbishop Hubert. It was to be opened at Westminster on the 19th of September, and on the eve of that day St. Hugh arrived in London. But, after all, he was not able to take any part in the Council. During his stay in Canterbury, his illness had made sensible progress. "Instead of obtaining a cure at the shrine where so many sick persons found health, it was with the greatest difficulty that he travelled to London, sometimes on horseback, sometimes in a boat. But he wished for nothing better, and his prayers, far from being unfruitful,

were answered in the sense he most desired."[1] The grace which the holy martyr of Canterbury obtained for him was, as he soon understood, that of a speedy and entire deliverance.

## Note to Book IV. Chapter V.

The same reason which made it desirable to refer at some length to the epidemic of St. Anthony's fire, suggests that the miracle of the bleeding loaves mentioned above should not go without a word of comment. As in the former case, the trustworthiness of our chronicler is at stake, for St. Hugh's chaplain is not merely reporting what rumour alleged to have happened to other people, but he tells us distinctly that he himself saw one of these loaves which was brought by the townspeople to the Bishop. "We broke it open," he says, "and blood soon ran from the place where it was broken (*sequebatur mox cruor fracturam*), just as would happen if you cut the flesh of a man or some live animal. A considerable portion of this loaf we brought away with us, *in sinu*—in our bosoms," or as we should now say, "in our pockets."

There is, however, one very important circumstance which has not been mentioned by the author of the modern French Life translated above. St. Hugh's conscientious chaplain is careful to tell us that the loaf which he saw was a loaf of fermented bread. "There were other loaves," he adds, "baked in the same oven at the same time which were made of unleavened dough. These unleavened loaves remained clean and good, and nothing extraordinary was seen in them; but of the fermented bread blood ran from every loaf when it was cut or broken." This difference was accounted for by some, Abbot Adam goes on to remark, by the

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 15.

supposition that the fermented bread had been mixed and kneaded upon the Sunday morning, while the unfermented was left until the evening, when the obligation of resting from servile work was over.[1]

Whatever may be thought of this way of accounting for the difficulty, it can hardly be denied that the non-occurrence of the phenomenon in the case of the unfermented bread is very significant, and points strongly to the conclusion that the appearance of blood, whatever may have been the precise cause which produced it, was due in some way to germs imported in, or developed by, the yeast.

It would require a great deal more space than can here be afforded, to discuss the series of phenomena of which we have traces at almost all periods of the world's history, and which being accepted as prodigies by the popular mind, are generally recorded in the chronicles under such designations as, "a rain of blood," "bleeding snow," "a fountain running with blood," "blood-stained beans," "bleeding wheat ears," "bleeding loaves," &c. That such phenomena really did take place there can be no manner of doubt, the evidence, especially for the occasional fall of red-coloured or crimson rain, being overwhelming and extending to our own times.[2] Neither would this be the place to enter upon the question of what particular microbe is responsible for these various appearances. There seem to be several which are capable under certain circumstances, of forming a pigment which bears a startling resemblance to blood, although the deep colour of the *bacillus prodigiosus* has earned for

[1] It is noteworthy that the obligation of resting from servile work was interpreted, in the middle ages, as beginning with the evening of Saturday and terminating with the evening of Sunday, as in the case of the Jewish Sabbath. This is in fact the true ecclesiastical day.

[2] See a paper by Ehrenberg in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1847, *Passat-Staub und Blut-Regen, &c.*

it a name which assumes that it is the cause *par excellence* of similar portents.[1] It may, however, be worth while to select from among the instances of the phenomenon which Ehrenberg has laboriously accumulated, one or two of the more striking in which there can hardly be any question of invoking a preternatural explanation.

The most interesting of these perhaps, is a portent recorded by Quintus Curtius as having occurred in the camp of Alexander the Great, before the siege of Tyre.

"On the Macedonian side," says the historian, "there were portents also, and when some soldiers were breaking open a loaf, they noticed drops of blood trickling out of it. The King (Alexander) was alarmed, but Aristander, the most skilful of soothsayers, reassured him. He remarked that if the blood had flowed from outside, that indeed would have boded evil to the Macedonians, but as on the contrary it flowed from within, it was clear that it portended only the destruction of the city to which they were about to lay siege."[2]

Again, in Paulus Orosius, an historian who lived in the fifth century, but who no doubt compiled his narrative from earlier chronicles, we find the following portent recorded amongst others which occurred during the Social or Marsic War. (B.C. 91.) "At Arretium during a banquet, when the bread was broken, blood ran from out of the loaves as it would have flowed from wounds in a man's body."[3]

We may pass over the numerous mediæval prodigies

[1] I am indebted for a knowledge of the interesting phenomena caused by this bacillus, and for a very vigorous specimen culture of the bacillus itself, to the kindness of Mr. S. G. Shattock, F.R.C.S., Lecturer on Bacteriology to St. Thomas's Hospital. Schottelius, *Biologische Untersuchungen über den Micrococcus Prodigiosus*, Leipzig, 1887, I have unfortunately not been able to consult. See Sternberg, *Manual of Bacteriology*, p. 638.

[2] Quintus Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*, bk. iv. ch. 2.

[3] *Historiæ*, bk. v. ch. 18; Migne, *P.L.* vol. xxxi. p. 960.

of the same kind, as they are so often complicated with the further question of outrages committed upon the Blessed Sacrament. If we can rely upon the exactitude of the details recorded in many of these miracles, it is obvious that no bacillus or fungus can explain the manifestations which are alleged to have suddenly taken place, when, for instance, a thin wafer Host perfectly white in colour and unleavened, has been punctured with a dagger and blood has spurted from It. Upon the truth or falsehood of these miracles of the bleeding Host, it would be extremely rash to pronounce, even if it were possible to make an adequate examination of the facts. What seems clear is that there are other phenomena recorded in the middle ages concerned with loaves of ordinary bread, which when broken open exhibited the appearance of deep red blood stains. As already mentioned (see above, p. 501, note), in the very year that St. Hugh and his chaplain had this singular experience at St. Omers, a similar occurrence is recorded to have taken place in England, where again the portent was interpreted as a judgment from Heaven upon a housewife alleged to have broken the law of Sunday rest.[1]

But the most important evidence of the non-miraculous evidence of this phenomenon, lies in the fact that even in our own times similar instances are recorded, occurring at wholly unaccountable intervals and in places far apart. In the various articles devoted to this subject in the middle of the century by Professor Ehrenberg, one of the pioneers of modern bacteriology, we find several modern instances quoted of the appearance of these blood stains in bread and cakes. The most fully described seems to be an outbreak at

[1] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ii. p. 466. Here again the loaves had been baked, not on the Sunday, but on the Saturday afternoon. When the bread was cut, says the chronicler, the blood flowed, *ac si de bestia nuper occisa profluxisset.* The phrase seems to indicate, like the word *cruor* used by Abbot Adam, that the liquid flowed rather sluggishly.

Legnaro, near Padua, in 1819.[1] Another took place at a mill at Enkirch on the Moselle in 1821.[2] There was a third at Berlin in 1848,[3] and even again at Adelaide in Australia in 1849. Besides these, there were in France several "epidemics," if the word may be used in such a connection, of the appearance of some colouring matter in the bread, which affected thousands of loaves baked for the troops in Paris and elsewhere. These were made the subject of official investigation by a commission of scientific experts. It is true that the resemblance to human blood in these cases does not seem to have been so strongly marked, and the colour is variously described as orange, or red, or purple deepening to black. Moreover, the phenomenon is ascribed, not to the *bacillus prodigiosus*, but to various species of microscopic fungi, of which the most important are the *oïdium aurantiacum* and the *penicillum roseum*, but the report of the commissioners, too long to be summarized here, reveals certain facts which have even a more direct bearing upon the phenomenon witnessed by St. Hugh, than the researches of Ehrenberg. The following, amongst other data, seem to be clearly established through repeated experiments made with the same flour which produced the coloured loaves.

(1) A most marked difference existed between the leavened and unleavened bread, though the flour used was the same. While the fermented bread was deeply stained and seemingly unfit for human food, biscuits and unleavened cakes made from the same dough were perfectly white and wholesome.[4]

[1] See Ehrenberg in the *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1848, pp. 354, seq. Cf. Cohn, *Beiträge zur Biologie der Pflanzen*, vol. ii. p. 109.

[2] *Monatsberichte*, 1849, pp. 112, seq.

[3] See Eckard, *Wiedererscheinen des seit alter Zeit berühmten Prodigiums des Blutes im Brodte und auf Speisen, beobachtet zu Berlin im September*, 1848, in the *Medicinische Zeitung*, 1849, pp. 51, seq.

[4] *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Médecine*, vol. xxi. p. 880.

(2) The fermented loaves looked quite normal and wholesome outside. No sign of colour was to be seen in the crust of the bread, but only in the crumb when the loaf was cut open.[1]

(3) These patches of colour developed only after the yeast had been added, during the baking but more especially during the cooling of the bread.[2]

(4) The intensity of the stain varied in proportion to the amount of moisture in the bread.[3]

(5) The germs of the pigment, whatever their nature, do not seem to have been introduced *in* the yeast, but the leavening of the bread was the occasion of their development.[4]

(6) This extraordinary phenomenon appears and disappears in the most unaccountable way. It was seen at Chartres in 1831, and at Paris in 1842. Then it disappeared and was not heard of again for twenty-eight years, but it manifested itself once more on a large scale in Paris in 1871, after the siege.

In the light of these experiences, I venture to claim that here again in the portent of the bleeding bread, there is every reason to trust the strict accuracy of the description which St. Hugh's chaplain has left in the *Magna Vita*. In his interpretation of the facts we need not follow him, but it would seem that the facts themselves, are recorded with scrupulous fidelity.—[Ed.]

[1] *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Médecine*, vol. xxi. p. 880.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Bulletin*, vol. xxxvi. pp. 662 and 735. Although the fact is not clearly attested in the experiments made, it seems a reasonable inference that if the excess of water had been very great, a deeply coloured liquid would have *run* from the loaf when broken open. I am informed by the distinguished authority referred to above, that many of the pigment bacilli "liquefy, *i.e.*, they cause liquefaction of the nutrient material," and that, "when the growth is very luxuriant it tends to run as a thick fluid would do."

[4] *Ibid.* Cf. *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Médecine de Belgique*, series ii. vol. i. pp. 301—322.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *HIS LAST ILLNESS.*

As soon as St. Hugh set foot in his house in London, which was at the Old Temple,[1] in Holborn, he was forced to take to his bed, consumed with a burning fever and with acute pains in all his limbs. His friends were distressed beyond measure to see him in this state. They knelt down beside him, and prayed aloud that God would restore him to health, for the sake of his faithful people in Lincoln, who were longing for his return.

St. Hugh gently consoled them: "My beloved children in Jesus Christ," he said, "may be sure that I shall always be near them, if not in body, at least in spirit. As for the restoration of my health and my return to my diocese, that is all in God's hands, and I desire nothing but that His holy Will should be done."

On the next day, which was the 19th of September, he had a long confidential conversation with his chaplain, in which he spoke in sorrow and foreboding of the evils he believed were impending over England. He said: "All my friends and acquaintances, even the most spiritually minded, seem eager to detain me in this world, where I have suffered so long. But my own feeling is very different. I see clearly the terrible misfortunes which are soon to fall upon the Church in

[1] As to the London house of the Bishops of Lincoln, see the note at the end of the next chapter, p. 534.—[ED.]

this country; and far rather would I die, than be a witness of these calamities. The descendants of King Henry must bear the curse pronounced in Holy Scripture: 'The multiplied brood of the wicked shall not thrive; and bastard slips shall not take deep root nor any fast foundation,'[1] and again: 'The children of adulterers shall be rooted out.'[2] The present King of France will avenge the memory of his virtuous father, King Louis, upon the children of the faithless wife who left him, to unite herself with his enemy.[3] And as the ox eats down grass to the very roots, so shall Philip of France entirely destroy this race, which has already nearly disappeared. Three of the sons of Henry II. are already dead; two Kings and one Duke.[4] The fourth will not be long in following them."

The history of the reign of King John was the fulfilment of this prophetic picture. The King's first mistake was an unexpected marriage with Isabel, daughter of the Count of Angoulême, who was betrothed to Hugh Count of la Marche. The coronation of the new Queen

[1] Wisdom iv. 3. [2] Wisdom iii. 16.

[3] Queen Eleanor had been the wife of Louis VII. of France, before becoming the wife of Henry II. She was still living in 1200, when St. Hugh spoke these words. A divorce had been pronounced by the Holy See on the ground of consanguinity between Eleanor and Louis VII., and the divorce had been pressed upon the King, it is stated, by no less a personage than the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who regarded the union of two first cousins as a public scandal. (See Luchaire, *Institutions Monarchiques*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.) It seems perhaps somewhat inconsistent of St. Hugh to stigmatize Eleanor's marriage with Henry as criminal, and yet to speak of Louis VII., who equally married again, as virtuous and holy. But Eleanor's misconduct was notorious, both before and after her second marriage, and she was imprisoned by Henry II. for many years. When his death released her she returned to her intrigues, and remained an active politician to her death in 1204.—[ED.]

[4] These were—Henry, the eldest son of Henry II., called a King inasmuch as he was crowned in his father's lifetime, though he did not live to succeed him, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany.—[ED.]

was to take place at Westminster, in the month of October, only a short time after the prediction of the holy Bishop. "From this fatal marriage," says Lingard, the English historian, "we may date the decline of the family of Plantagenet.[1]

After this revelation of the foreboding, which made the near approach of death more than ever welcome, St. Hugh's next thought was to prepare to die as a Christian should, "You know," he said to his friend, "that in two days we shall keep the feast of St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist. That will be the anniversary of the day on which I was anointed Bishop. Now, although I have often been ill since then, I have never yet been anointed with the oil of the sick, which is much more suitable for such a sickly soul as mine is. Therefore, I desire to receive the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to-morrow, which will be the vigil of the feast. But before that, it is needful that I should prepare myself by a good confession, that all those holy remedies may produce a salutary effect."

He then began a general confession of the sins of his whole life, passing in review all that had happened to him since his childhood, and omitting nothing for which his conscience reproached him. And not content with accusing himself of these things before his chaplain, who was his ordinary confessor, he sent for three other respected priests: Roger Rolleston, Dean of the Chapter of Lincoln; William of Blois, the Precentor, who afterwards succeeded him as Bishop; and Richard of Kent, archdeacon of Northampton. In their presence, which gave to his confession a semi-public character, he repeated those things of which he had already often accused himself, and he did this, with that clearness, candour, and thoroughness, which had always astonished and edified his confessors. No one knew better how to

[1] Vol. i. ch. 14, p. 55.

humble himself by disclosing the least stain which could disfigure the purity and beauty of his soul.

He made this confession partly during that day, and partly also in the morning of the day following, until the hour of Terce (nine o'clock), when the Holy Viaticum was brought to him. When he knew that the Divine Eucharist was approaching, he rose from his bed, weak as he was, and clothed in the hair-shirt, the tunic and the hood of a Carthusian, he walked barefooted to meet his Lord. He then knelt down and adored the Blessed Sacrament, breaking forth into words of gratitude and love. "I am a guilty sinner, my Lord and my Saviour," he said, "but Thou art the God of all mercy. I commend myself into Thy hands, be Thou my Refuge and my Succour, now, and at my last hour." His tears flowed freely as he prayed, and despite his infirmity he knelt for some time in adoration. Then the Holy Eucharist was placed upon his lips, and after a short interval he received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

To him this was as a new consecration, and doubtless he remembered the words of the Church on Holy Thursday, when she prays: "Send, O Lord, Thy Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, from Heaven, upon this oil which Thou hast deigned to produce from a fruitful tree, that it may be able to comfort soul and body. Let Thy blessing make of it a heavenly medicine which shall protect us, and shall drive away our sorrows, our weaknesses, our sicknesses of soul and body; for Thou dost make use of this Thy creature, oil, for the consecration of Thy priests, Thy kings, Thy prophets, and Thy martyrs." The special grace which is thus granted to the Christian in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, is to die, offering himself to God, with the calmness of a priest ascending to the altar, overcoming his natural fear of death with the dignity of

a king, aspiring to the invisible mansions of Paradise with the lively faith of a prophet, and enduring his last agony with the fortitude of a martyr. These were the graces which the holy Bishop prayed for, and he received them in all their fulness, on the eve of the anniversary of his episcopal consecration.

Who shall describe the happiness and fervour of his thanksgiving! When it was over at last, he said to those who stood round him: "Now let physicians and diseases do their worst. I care little for either now. My God has come to me; I have trusted myself to Him, I have received Him; I will hold Him, I will cleave to Him. For to cleave to Him is good, to possess Him is bliss, and he who receives Him and trusts in Him is strong and secure."

The fever increased in violence from day to day, and his friends thought it well to advise him to make his will, according to custom. "I do not like this custom," he said "although the Church allows it. I declare once for all, that I have never possessed anything, and do not now possess anything, except that which belongs to the Church, and not to me. Nevertheless, as it is to be feared that after my death, the treasury may unjustly seize upon the property of my bishopric, unless I have otherwise disposed of it, I hereby leave everything which I appear to possess, to our Lord Jesus Christ, in the person of His poor." He appointed the Dean of his Chapter, and two archdeacons of his diocese, to distribute to the poor all that he might die possessed of. Then, calling for his stole, he put it round his neck, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against any one who should violate his last wishes, by depriving the poor of what he intended them to have, or by hindering his executors in the performance of their duty. He had learned, by sad experience, the danger which threatened such a

bequest, from the avarice of the powerful.[1] He had struggled only too often, against the iniquitous system of spoliation, to which all property, both ecclesiastical and secular, was exposed; and he hoped that the salutary fear which his excommunications always inspired, would ensure his wishes being respected, even after his death. But to make still more sure, he took advantage of a visit paid to him by King John.[2]

The King was profuse in his expressions of sympathy for the dying Saint. He remained a long time at his bedside, after sending away all the courtiers who were in attendance. As far as words went, at any rate, he showed the greatest desire to give satisfaction to St. Hugh, promising freely to do whatever the Bishop wished. It was remarked, however, at the time, by the few who remained in the room, that the Bishop said very little in reply to all these protestations. He did not even take the trouble to raise himself on his couch to listen to the Prince, although he was not yet so weak but that he could have done so, had he wished. It was obvious enough to the bystanders, that he had but small respect for King John, or faith in his promises. However, before his visitor departed, St. Hugh,

[1] It should be remembered that all testamentary suits belonged of right to the ecclesiastical courts, and St. Hugh, in accordance with what has been said in a previous chapter, is likely to have had considerably more than his share of cases of violence and oppression brought to him for judgment.—[ED.]

[2] From May to the beginning of October, 1200, John was absent in Normandy. (Hardy's *Itinerary of John* in *Description of Patent Rolls.*) The visit here spoken of must have been paid about October 10th (Cf. *ibid.* p. 70), and by that time he had already confirmed St. Hugh's will at Freemantle in Hampshire on his way to London. The document which he signed is couched in the following terms: "Rex, &c., omnibus, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod nos ratum et gratum habemus testamentum venerabilis patris nostri domini Lincolniensis episcopi sicut illud rationabiliter et secundum Deum condidit de feudis suis. Apud Freemantle, die sexto Octobris. Teste W. Brewer." (*Rotuli Chartarum*, Edit. Hardy, p. 98.) Of the will itself, I am not aware that any copy has been preserved.—[ED.]

measuring out a few brief words to the man he did not trust, recommended his bishopric and the executors of his last wishes to the royal protection. The King was ready to give all the assurances he needed, and promised St. Hugh that he would always respect the last wishes of any Bishop who had lawfully disposed of his property.[1]

The synod of Westminster was at this time in full session, and the decrees passed by the assembled prelates must have given St. Hugh no little consolation. Wise regulations were adopted for the administration of the sacraments, and especially of the Holy Eucharist. Several ordinances of the Third Council of Lateran, amongst the rest one regarding poor lepers, were re-enacted; and the need of appointing vicars to impropriated churches, with a competent subsistence, was insisted on. It was a notable feature of the decisions of this national synod, that each canon concluded by a formal acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff.[2]

Therefore, before he died, St. Hugh had the happiness of seeing the Church in England unanimously identify itself with the principles which had governed his whole life. He saw the prelates of the nation once more make profession that they looked to the Blessed

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. chs. 16, 17; Roger of Wendover (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 307. Cf. Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina* (Edit. André), vol. vii. p. 125. It is stated in the *Magna Vita*, p. 351, that at the Council of Westminster, then sitting, a solemn anathema was pronounced against the defrauders of wills, to which the King, who was present, gave a hearty assent. No such decree, however, appears amongst the decisions of the Council, as collected by Hoveden, vol. iv. pp. 128, seq. It may be, perhaps, that a general sentence of excommunication, similar to that spoken of in the seventh decree, was read out, including the defrauders of wills amongst those *qui scienter in dispendium cujuslibet pejeraverint.* (*Ibid.* p. 132).—[ED.]

[2] This was the formula employed: "Salvo in omnibus S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ honore et privilegio."

Sacrament as the source of all Christian virtue; and to the Pope, as the one infallible guide to all truth. The poor lepers, for whom the Saint had always shown so much tenderness, were not forgotten. It was decreed in their favour, as mentioned above, that according to the decision of the Third Council of Lateran, they should be allowed to build themselves a church, to have a cemetery of their own, and to enjoy the ministrations of a priest specially devoted to their service.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, whose influence was so happily exercised in this matter, profited by his stay in London to visit St. Hugh. He came several times to the sick-bed, speaking with kindness and sympathy, and promising to assist him with all the means in his power. It was during one of these charitable visits that St. Hugh succeeded in finally terminating the dispute between the Archbishop and the monks of his Cathedral.[1] He gave fervent thanks to God, and congratulated himself on being able to say, with St. Martin, that on his death he left the Church in peace.

But had not the holy Bishop himself often had occasion to differ from his metropolitan? There had been skirmishes between them which were notorious to all the world, and it may have appeared to some that the circumstances called for a public reconciliation in which all traces of former differences should be buried. Archbishop Hubert seems to have thought so; and he also thought that in begging pardon of all whom he had injured, the Bishop of Lincoln might fittingly make some expression of regret for the opposition he had frequently shown to the Primate, his ecclesiastical superior. So, forgetting that he had

[1] This presumably refers to a passage in the *Magna Vita*, bk. iii. ch. 12, p. 135, but, as mentioned elsewhere, there does not seem to me to be any reason for thinking that the settlement was due to the personal intervention of St. Hugh.—[ED.]

been the offender, and not the person offended, he openly exhorted the dying Saint to express contrition for the past and ask his forgiveness. St. Hugh considered apparently that there was a question of principle involved, and he answered the Archbishop with uncompromising frankness. "It is quite true," he said, "that when I examine my conscience, I see that I have irritated you many times. But far from regretting it, I am only sorry that I have not done so oftener; and if God spares my life, I tell you now, in His presence, that it is my firm resolution to speak my mind more plainly to you in the future. I have shown cowardice in not saying to you all that I ought to have said, through fear of your displeasure. I accuse myself of having feared your anger more than the anger of my Father in Heaven, and for this indeed I now ask your forgiveness. My silence, which was so little worthy of a Bishop, and so productive of evil, has made me guilty, not only towards God, but also towards your Paternity in regard of your dignity as Primate of the Church in England."

We know not what answer the Archbishop may have made to this speech; but even if he did not entirely agree with it, it must at least have convinced him that to the very end of his life St. Hugh preserved the same inflexible courage and the same intense love for the liberty of the Church.

On another day one of his friends gave him an opportunity of revealing the peace which reigned in his soul. "My lord Bishop," he said, "you know that we are more pleasing to God when we specify our separate sins, than when we merely confess them in general terms. Now, both as Bishop and as delegate of the Holy See, you have had many causes brought before your tribunal. You would do well to accuse yourself, therefore, in detail, if you are conscious of ever having shown partiality to suitors from motives of private

affection or resentment. Consult your conscience, and tell me truthfully what it says to you." The answer was unhesitating: "No, I cannot remember that I have ever knowingly deviated from justice; I do not think that love or hatred, hope or fear, have ever had any weight with me, for or against the persons brought before my tribunal. If I have ever decided wrongfully it has been either through ignorance, or because the case was not properly represented to me."[1]

But apart from such occasions, where direct questioning or some matter of principle left him no alternative, St. Hugh's behaviour during his illness was marked by the simplicity and humility which were characteristic of him in life. This submissive spirit was particularly manifested in a matter which was very distasteful to him. The physicians who were attending him gave an opinion that Hugh might survive the winter, and even perhaps be perfectly cured if he would only consent to give up his perpetual abstinence. They said that at his age meat in some form or other was absolutely necessary to recover his strength, exhausted as it had been by a continual fever. After consulting with the friends of St. Hugh, the Archbishop of Canterbury took it upon himself to order him, under pain of sin, to obey his physicians in this matter. St. Hugh reminded his Superior that Carthusians may never, even in case of illness, depart from their rule of perpetual abstinence. He considered himself still bound by this rule, and was in much perplexity and trouble. When, however, the Prior of Witham wrote in the name of his monks, telling

[1] It seems most probable, I think, that the question was asked by the chaplain Adam himself, who was also the Saint's confessor. The language of the *Magna Vita*, which speaks of the "joy and wonderment" which St. Hugh's answer caused in the bystanders, is an eloquent commentary upon the general prevalence of abuses in the administration of justice at that epoch.—[ED.]

the Saint to have no scruple about obeying the command of the Archbishop, he gave way at once; saying, however, to his attendants: "I must tell you that I take this meat entirely against my own will; and it will not cure me, nor do me any good. But I will not give scandal by refusing to obey those who have a claim upon my obedience; and I wish to imitate Him, who for our sakes was obedient even unto death. Bring me the food you have prepared for me, and I will take it with the seasoning of your fraternal charity."

So for the first and only time since he had been a Carthusian, St. Hugh broke the rule of abstinence; but he could scarcely touch the food brought to him, and it was soon seen that it was of no real benefit to him.

With regard to the other severe austerities of his Order, St. Hugh refused all the dispensations usually granted to Carthusians who were ill. He would never give up his monastic garments, not even his hair-shirt, which his burning fever made a veritable instrument of torture. He would scarcely allow it to be changed once or twice during the two months which his malady lasted; and on those occasions his attendants were able to form some sort of idea of the terrible suffering it must have caused him. His chaplain, seeing the cruel wounds which the hard, stiff substance, which in places had got twisted almost like a rope, had inflicted on his wasted body, begged him not to treat himself more severely than he would treat other monks of the Order; impressing upon him that all were allowed to give up the hair-shirt in time of sickness. But St. Hugh, who, as Prior of Witham, had shown the greatest consideration for all his subjects, would not avail himself of this legitimate relief. "God forbid!" he replied, "that I should ever give up my hair-shirt! It soothes me, far more than it chafes me; it helps me to bear my sufferings, instead of increasing them." Thus do the saints reason. In their

eyes the most efficacious means to bear suffering well is to add to it voluntarily, to go to meet the cross, and embrace it with generous love.

Neither did the dying Carthusian Bishop consider himself dispensed from the recitation of the Divine Office. He said it day and night, at the usual hours, without paying any attention to the attacks of fever, or allowing them to make him anticipate or postpone the time. He did his best to join in the recitation of the Psalms with the ecclesiastics who were present, as far as his strength would allow, reproving them severely, as in the old days, if they showed any sign of haste or negligence. His soul was continually in prayer, and triumphed over the paroxysms of pain by an increasing elevation towards the God of all strength and of all consolation. Careful as he was to purify his soul from the slightest stain of sin, he made his confession nearly every day, and sometimes several times on the same day; thus trying to make immediate atonement for the least wandering thought, or impatient act, or hastiness of speech that was caused sometimes by the unskilfulness or carelessness of his attendants. One of his servants saddened the last days of his life by most unworthy conduct. This was Pontius, his house-steward. Instead of showing his gratitude to St. Hugh, who had taken him as a beggar out of the streets, and had placed him in a position of trust and importance, this man had become arrogant and insolent. While all his fellow-servants were touched by the sufferings of the holy Bishop, and edified by his patience, Pontius gave himself airs and adopted a contemptuous and rebellious tone towards his master. Already, at St. Omer, he had given grave offence to St. Hugh, and obstinately refused to ask his pardon. He even dared to say: "I am much more necessary to the Bishop, than he is to me." His resentment towards one who had ever been to him as the

kindest of fathers continued after the Saint's death; and he refused to furnish what was necessary for the interment. But the servant's ingratitude did not go unpunished. The end of Pontius was a sad one. He fell three times into the hands of robbers, and finally died at Angers in terrible suffering.

Thus was the bodily pain of St. Hugh aggravated by the mental torture caused by this ingratitude; and thus was he made more like to his Divine Lord, who, in His hour of bitterest agony was betrayed by one of His Apostles, denied by another, and struck by a servant.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *THE DEATH OF ST. HUGH.*

"Ah! how unhappy we should be, if we were never to die!" These were the words which the holy Bishop of Lincoln had often addressed to mourners who seemed to give way too much to their sorrow.[1] Therefore, we can understand a little, how deep was his contentment at the approach of his own death, and as the end came nearer and nearer, so did this joy increase. If it is consoling to contemplate the saints of God during their lives, it is still more encouraging to see them leave the earth, with an unfaltering serenity, which only the clear vision of Heaven open before them could give. Instead of shrinking from death, as those do whose hearts are fixed on the things of this world, they smile at the king of terrors, who has no terrors for them, and hasten to meet him with joy and hope. He brings to them deliverance, the end of their exile, the right of entry into their own country, the beginning of a life which is life indeed, of a love that can never change, and of a peace that nothing can ever trouble. They know well that in this world they can never reach the sole end

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 19, p. 368. In telling us of this, St. Hugh's biographer lets us see that the Saint managed to give a cheery and encouraging tone to his words. He used to confirm them with a sort of burlesque oath which he sometimes used when he wished to speak strongly. *Per sanctam nucem*—"By the holy nut," he would say, "it would be a bad thing for us all if we had to live for ever." This expletive he employed "*vice juramenti.*" Probably it had no sort of meaning, but was intended as an innocent substitute for *per sanctam crucem*, which it would replace equally well in Latin or in French.—[Ed.]

to which they aspire, which is a perfect union with Eternal Beauty, Eternal Truth, and Eternal Love. Is it then to be wondered at, that even in life they say with the Apostle: *Mihi vivere Christus est, mori lucrum*—"To me to live is Christ: and to die is gain."[1]

St. Hugh was going home at last. The month of October had been passed in constant and ever-increasing suffering. November came, with the feast of All Saints, and the commemoration of the Faithful Departed, days well fitted to bring consolation to a dying man. By a coincidence in which we seem to trace a special dispensation of Divine Providence, it was just at this time that a meeting of the English Bishops and Barons was announced to take place at Lincoln, where the King of Scotland was coming to pay homage to the King of England. William the Lion, who then occupied the Scottish throne, was as pious as he was brave, and he seems to have entertained a particular veneration for St. Hugh. "He had always felt a deep affection for our Saint" (*nimis eum semper dilexerat*), writes the author of the *Magna Vita*.[2] No doubt he hoped that by coming to Lincoln he would be able to enjoy the society of the friend he revered, but as it happened, he only had the mournful consolation of assisting at his funeral.

[1] Philipp. i. 21.

[2] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 19. William succeeded Malcolm IV. in 1165, and inherited his father's love for religion. His fortitude in adversity was no less remarkable than his moderation in prosperity. He delighted to meditate on heavenly truths, and founded two abbeys, one of them in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whom he had known in his youth. He died at Stirling in 1214. Many miraculous cures were attributed to his intercession, and some of the Scotch writers include him among the saints of their country. (See Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, November 17th.) [As has been already noticed on a previous page (p. 332, note), St. Hugh, in company with Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, escorted the King of Scots to London on his first visit in 1190. This journey will no doubt have given William the opportunity of forming an intimate friendship with St. Hugh. Earlier still they probably met at Marlborough, in September, 1186. (See Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 271.)—ED.]

Ill as he was, St. Hugh interested himself in the preparations which were being made to do honour to this assembly of prelates and nobles in his cathedral city. Especially was he anxious about the progress of the Cathedral itself, where the work was still going on steadily. He had declared that, living or dead, he would see that this edifice, dedicated to the Mother of God, was brought to completion; and to this end he had founded, as we have already mentioned, an association which contributed every year a sum of about 1,000 silver marks to the building fund.[1] In order to obtain alms in greater abundance, he had granted an Indulgence of eighty days to all who contributed to the good work, promising them also a share in the spiritual treasures of his diocese, and in the Masses, fasts, and prayers offered for that intent by the different Religious Orders.[2]

Although he hoped still to help on the good work when he got to Heaven, his last earthly anxiety was given to his Cathedral. It was just a fortnight before his death, when he sent for the architect, Geoffrey de Noyers,[3] and said to him: "I understand that before

[1] Coggeshall. For an excellent specimen of the privileges granted to such an association, and the conditions exacted of the members, see the charter granted to Archbishop Baldwin for the erection of the new collegiate church he projected at Lambeth. (*Epistolæ Cantuariensis*, p. 8.) These "fraternitates," or "confratriæ," were generally established for a limited term of years. Thus the Bishop of Winchester, in 1202, established such an association to contribute to the restoration of his Cathedral. It was limited to five years. "Constituit confratriam pro reparatione ecclesiæ Wintoniensis duraturam usque ad quinque annos completos." (*Winton Annals*, Luard, p. 78.)—[ED.]

[2] Girald. Cambren. *Opera*, vol. vii. Appendix F. p. 217. We do not possess the actual text of the Indulgence granted by St. Hugh, and there is some reason to doubt if the later report of it, printed by Dimock, is strictly accurate.—[ED.]

[3] As Mr. Dimock notes, "the French name of Hugh's architect is no proof whatever that he was not an Englishman bred and born, though of course originally of foreign descent. The name had existed in England from soon after the Conquest." (See *Magna Vita*, p. 412, note, and the references here cited.)—[ED.]

long the King with his Bishops and Barons is to hold a great assembly at Lincoln. Hasten then to complete the decoration of the chapel of my lord and patron, St. John the Baptist. I should wish the altar to be consecrated by the Bishop of Rochester, when he comes there with the other Bishops. It was my hope to have performed the ceremony myself, but God has ordained otherwise, and I am anxious that the consecration should take place without fail[1] before my arrival, for I shall be at Lincoln on the day fixed for this assembly." These words contained a prophecy, which was fulfilled on the day that St. Hugh's funeral procession entered his cathedral city. He had chosen the chapel of St. John the Baptist as his last resting-place, and indicated the exact spot where his body was to be placed. "You must lay me in the chapel of St. John the Baptist," he said to his clergy, "where you can most conveniently find room, but somewhere close to the wall. Do not let my tomb obstruct the pavement, as is seen in so many churches, and form a trap for the unwary to stumble over." [2]

As the feast of St. Martin approached, the hopes of a speedy release grew stronger in the heart of St. Hugh,

[1] The text of the *Magna Vita* in the copy of Dom Le Couteulx, reads, *excusatione omni remota*, which seems certainly better than Mr. Dimock's *occasione remota*. (See *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartus.* vol. iv. p. 353.)—[Ed.]

[2] A misunderstanding has long prevailed as to the position of this chapel of St. John the Baptist, in which St. Hugh's remains were interred. There can, I think, be no room for doubt that in St. Hugh's new cathedral the chapel of St. John the Baptist was the chapel in the apse, directly behind the high altar, and consequently in the position usually occupied in other churches by the Lady chapel. As the Cathedral itself was dedicated to our Lady, it was not likely that a second chapel should be consecrated to her in such an important position, and the site was thus left free for St. Hugh's special patron, St. John the Baptist. St. Hugh's extreme anxiety that the chapel should be finished in time for the great assembly at Lincoln becomes much more intelligible when we recognize that it meant equivalently the completion of the east end of the church. But see further the note at the end of chapter viii.—[Ed.]

who had always had a particular devotion to the great wonder-worker of France. He made it a subject of special prayer. "O Lord God," he was heard to say, "the fight has lasted a long time, and if Thou wilt vouchsafe to put an end to it, it will indeed be a great mercy for me. Nevertheless, Thy Will be done; and yet I will still beg of Thee to grant me deliverance on the feast of my good lord St. Martin. May it please Thee, O King of glory, to call me to Thyself, upon the triumphant festival of him, who on his death-bed, gained a signal victory over the prince of this world. I recommend myself to his prayers and protection, and I beg of Thee, my God, to transfer me at last from the camp to the palace, from hope long delayed, to the enjoyment of the Vision of Thyself."

The dying Saint repeated this prayer over and over again, with tears and sighs. His chaplain, who heard him, began to fear that the earnest request would indeed be granted, and that the holy Bishop of Tours would come to fetch his brother of Lincoln and bear him away to celebrate that joyous feast in Heaven.

However, St. Martin's day, the 11th of November, passed without setting the captive free. But there is an octave to the feast, and so St. Hugh still relied on his dear patron's help. The fever increased in violence, and dysentery set in, which quickly exhausted the little strength that remained to him. Seeing that the end could not be far off, he calmly made preparation for his funeral. "Get ready some blessed ashes," he said to his chaplain, "and sprinkle them on the ground in the form of a cross. There you must lay me down when

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 17. The whole of this chapter of the *Magna Vita* is devoted to a long parallel between St. Martin and St. Hugh. We have extracted some of the facts relating to St. Hugh's last hours, which are only mentioned in that connection, and have given them a place in our account.

you see that death is approaching. As for the hair cloth, it is not the custom of our Order to spread another on the ground; we are content to be dressed in that which we have always worn during life." He then designated those whom he wished to take part in the first funeral rites beside his remains, in the absence of the Bishops and Abbots who had left for Lincoln. These were to be chosen from among the monks of Westminster and the clergy of St. Paul's. His body was then to be taken to Lincoln Cathedral. "I wish to be buried," he said, "in the Cathedral Church which is dedicated to the Blessed Mother of God, near the altar of St. John the Baptist. Take care then to wash my body most carefully, out of respect for the sacred place where it is to rest. Then I wish you to clothe me in the pontifical vestments which I wore on the day of my consecration. You will find them all ready in the sacristy, from the mitre to the sandals. They are simple and unornamented, and I have kept them in view of this day of my burial." Then his rings were brought to him, and he chose one that was of gold, but of moderate value and set with an ordinary sapphire. "This," he said, "was the ring I wore during my episcopal consecration; I will wear it on the day of my burial, and it shall descend with me into the grave. I chose these insignia for their simplicity, that they might teach me to be humble during life, and so they will not tempt the covetousness of any one to despoil me after my death."

Those who heard these words, understood that they referred to some future translation of his remains; for, as the biographer takes note, "as long as the body of the Saint was enclosed in a leaden coffin, and securely cemented in a tomb of masonry,[1] it could not be exposed

[1] This leaden coffin and tomb of stone still exist beneath the pavement of the Angel Choir in Lincoln Cathedral.—[ED.]

to the gaze or the thievish propensities of evil-doers."[1] His friend therefore concluded that his remains would some day be removed from their first resting-place, as commonly happens in the case of the canonized saints of the Church.

His pains went on increasing, and patient as he was, his continual cry was for rest. "O merciful Saviour," he said, "give me rest; give me rest." His chaplain, hearing this touching appeal, said to him, "My lord, the rest is coming soon. Your pulse shows that the fever is abating." The holy Bishop went on: "Blessed are those whom the Day of Judgment shall introduce to endless rest." The chaplain answered: "The Day of Judgment is coming for you; God will soon deliver you from the burden of the flesh." "No," said St. Hugh, "the day of my death will not be a day of judgment, but a day of grace and mercy."

Sustained by this hope, he astonished those who surrounded him, by his courage and energy in the midst of all his sufferings. To the very last he still had strength to turn himself in his bed, and even rose sometimes and walked a few steps. His soul struggled heroically against the weakness of his body, to the amazement of his physicians, who said: "It is this man's spirit alone that keeps him alive. Like the Apostle, he has a good right to gird at 'the body of this death,'[2] and to exclaim: 'When I am weak, then am I powerful.'"[3]

The Holy Viaticum was the source whence he derived his courage and trust in God. He received It frequently during his illness, and the Blessed Sacrament was brought to him for the last time only the day before his death. On the night between the 15th and the 16th of November, a mysterious dream warned his

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 16.
[2] Romans vii. 24. [3] 2 Cor. xii. 10.

chaplain that the end was at hand. He saw a pear-tree, of extraordinary size and marvellous beauty, uprooted and lying upon the ground, in the garden adjoining the house where the Saint was then lying. When he awoke, he related his dream to the other attendants, saying: "Our Bishop will die to-day, it is he who is betokened, I am sure, by the beautiful pear-tree of my dream."[1] Accordingly he began to make all preparations for the funeral, paying no attention to the railleries of the physicians, who still clung to the idea that their patient would recover.

When the hour of Prime came, the clergy in attendance on St. Hugh recited it by his bedside. The Lesson from Holy Scripture which followed the Martyrology, was taken from the Gospel of St. John, and contained the account of the resurrection of Lazarus.[2] The holy Bishop himself indicated the place where the reader was to stop. It was exactly at that point that the Gospel of the next day was to begin, during the Requiem Mass which was celebrated in the presence of his sacred remains: "Martha therefore said to Jesus:

[1] In the abridged account of Pez (Migne, *Patrol.* t. cliii. col. 1104), the description of this vision is headed: *De visione cadentis arboris, ex qua sumpta est illa Antiphona: Arbor cadit mystici index sacramenti*, &c. From this we conclude that a proper Office was composed in honour of St. Hugh, and that the vision of his chaplain was one of the marvels commemorated in it. [Of this proper Office I have been unable to discover any trace, either in any English use, or amongst the Carthusians, or in the service-books of Grenoble, or in those of the Abbey of Melk, to which Pez belonged.—ED.] There is a second part, also, to this vision. The chaplain further imagined that he lifted up the beautiful pear-tree, and held it in his arms without any difficulty, while he carefully detached some of the branches. He interpreted this as signifying his own Life of St. Hugh, which he wrote without any difficulty, and which was, as it were, only a few fragments, detached from the beautiful whole. (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 18. [Some interesting details about the garden of St. Hugh's house in Holborn will be found commented upon in the note at the end of this chapter.—ED.]

[2] St. John xi.

Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." Thus was every link a perfect link, in the life and death of one who had always shown himself a model of religious regularity.

The other Canonical Hours were likewise recited on that last day, each at its proper time; but when the evening came, St. Hugh, feeling himself getting gradually weaker, sent for the Prior of Westminster and the Dean of St. Paul's, that they with their clergy might be present at the commendation of the soul in its last passage. Then laying his hand on the head of his faithful chaplain, he made a long prayer for him and for all his spiritual children, blessing them with his failing voice. Some one said to him: "Beg of God to send your widowed Church a worthy pastor." Three times this was repeated before he seemed to hear. "May God grant it," the answer came at length. The words were his last, and he entered when they were spoken into the silence of his agony.

Night was now closing in. In accordance with the Saint's wish, they scattered ashes upon the ground in the form of a cross. He had still strength to lift his hand and bless them himself, and he bowed his head to adore the holy symbol of our salvation. The clergy who stood around then recited the Office of Compline, feeling sure that in so doing they would be accomplishing their Bishop's last wishes. They had proceeded as far as that noble Psalm xc., *Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi*, which expresses so beautifully the confidence of the just, when a change in the features of the dying man told them that the last moments were very near. He himself made a sign to be laid upon the ashes, and tenderly his chaplains lifted him from his bed just as the words were spoken: "He shall cry to Me, and I will hear him: I am with him in tribulation, I will deliver him and I will glorify him."

The end was not long in coming. Stretched out there amidst the ashes upon the bare ground, the Saint most peacefully surrended his soul to God; while the clergy, who had hastened a little the recitation of Compline, were chanting the Canticle of the aged Simeon: "Now Thou dost dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word in peace."[1] It was Thursday, the 16th of November, in the year 1200,[2] the sixth day of the octave of St. Martin; St. Hugh being then sixty years of age.[3]

On that same night, Richard, archdeacon of Northampton,[4] who was far away from St. Hugh, saw

[1] It is worth while to point out that these details are not imaginary. They are all given in the conscientious narrative of the chaplain who received St. Hugh's last blessing, and upon whose faithful memory every circumstance of that memorable scene must have been indelibly impressed. He often tells us in the course of his biography, that his great difficulty has been not to find material for his descriptions, but to confine them within reasonable limits.—[ED.]

[2] His death took place, we are told, *brevi intervallo post solis occasum.* In London, on the 16th of November, the sun sets a few minutes after four. Darkness had probably closed in on that November afternoon upon the Bishop's house beside Holborn, where he breathed his last, and the end must have come before five o'clock. If his feast is kept on November 17th, it is because, according to the custom of the Carthusian Order, a monk who dies after Compline, or during it, is commemorated on the following day. In this same year, 1200, died also Blessed Odo and Blessed William of Fenouil, who were both Carthusians.—[ED.]

[3] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 18; Le Couteulx, *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 242. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that St. Hugh was sixty, and not, as Mr. Dimock supposes, sixty-five, at the date of his death. Mr. Dimock proceeded on the assumption that Hugh came to England in 1175, and it is stated that at this period of his life he was forty years of age. But, as we have already seen, this is an error, and the entry in the Norman Exchequer Rolls makes it certain that St. Hugh's coming cannot be dated earlier than 1180. Now if he were forty in 1180, he must have been sixty in 1200; and with this quite agrees the fact that the MSS. of the *Magna Vita* used by Dom Le Couteulx and Surius describe him as sexagenarius. In the Brussels MS. this page is unfortunately wanting. –[ED.]

[4] Roger de Hoveden says that this vision was granted to the Dean of the Chapter of Lincoln. We prefer to adopt the testimony of St. Hugh's biographer, who had every means of ascertaining the exact truth.

him in a dream ascending to Heaven in glory. And following the Saint at a little distance, he saw also one of his chaplains, Robert of Capella, a man of great piety and charity,[1] who was then in Lincoln. A few days afterwards, Robert of Capella was taken ill with malignant fever, and died on the very day that St. Hugh's body was brought to the Cathedral. Thus the man of God had not wished to sit down alone to the marriage-feast of endless joy. He had chosen a companion like to himself, who was worthy to hear with him that Divine eulogy: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

## Note to Book IV. Chapter VII.

Although no trace of the London residence of the Bishops of Lincoln at the Old Temple can now be discovered, it seems possible to determine with tolerable accuracy the site of the house in which St. Hugh breathed his last. On the south side of Holborn, between Chancery Lane and Staple Inn, a street running parallel to the former bears the name of Old Southampton Buildings. A short distance down this street there is a passage crossing it at right angles, which takes us round to the back of Staple Inn. There can be little doubt that Lincoln House stood somewhere within the irregular space thus enclosed between Southampton Buildings, Staple Inn, and the passage which unites them.[2] It will thus have been close beside, and probably a little in the rear of, the two or three old timber-frame houses with projecting gables, which

[1] He was especially remarkable for the kindness which he showed to those who were guests at the Bishop's table. His body was found after death clothed in a hair-shirt which he had long worn in secret under his dress.

[2] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. H. W. Brewer for a reference to Maitland's *History of London*, and other suggestions which have helped me in identifying the site of Lincoln House.

still attract the attention of the passer-by on his right hand as he travels citywards along High Holborn. Nearly opposite Staple Inn there existed, in the last century, an obstruction known as the Holborn Bars. They marked the limit of the City liberties, and corresponded to the Temple Bar, which formed a similar barrier on the parallel thoroughfare represented by Fleet Street and the Strand. Temple Bar derives its name, of course, from the New Temple just beside it, but the Old Temple occupied a very similar position in respect of the Holborn Bars, except that the Old Temple lay a little to the west of the barrier, and consequently outside the City liberties. The position of the house of the Bishops of Lincoln, which was still standing in the sixteenth century, though it then bore the name of Southampton House, is clearly indicated by the famous Elizabethan antiquary, Stowe, in the following passage: "Beyond the Bars," he says, "had ye in old time a temple built by the Templars, whose order first began in the year of Christ 1118, in the nineteenth of Henry I. This temple was left, and fell to ruin since the year 1184, when the Templars had builded them a new temple in Fleet Street, near to the River of Thames. A great part of this old temple was pulled down but of late, in the year 1595.

"Adjoining to this old temple was sometime the Bishop of Lincoln's inn, wherein he lodged when he repaired to this city. Robert de Curars, Bishop of Lincoln, built it about the year 1147.[1] John Russell,

[1] Stowe is not quite accurate in his dates. The Old Temple was sold by the Knights to Robert Chesney (de Querceto, whom Stowe calls de Curars), Bishop of Lincoln, about 1162. The royal confirmation of the transfer is printed in Dugdale, and amongst the witnesses we find the name of St. Thomas Becket, then Chancellor. It made over to the Bishop of Lincoln "the houses which belonged to the brethren of the Temple at London, in the parish of St. Andrew de Holeburne, with the chapel, and gardens, and everything belonging thereto." In this chapel the body of

Bishop of Lincoln, Chancellor of England in the reign of Richard III., was lodged there. It hath of late years belonged to the Earls of Southampton, and is therefore called Southampton House. Master Roper hath of late much built there, by means whereof part of the ruins of the old temple were seen to remain, built of Caen stone, round in form as the New Temple by Temple Bar, and other temples in England."

It is obvious that when Stowe uses the word "temple," he is thinking principally of the church, or chapel, and not of that portion of the building in which the Templars resided. The whole estate, with all its appurtenances, became the property of the Bishops of Lincoln, and the round chapel of Caen stone—whose circular form was intended to remind the Knights of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem—must undoubtedly have been that *Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ ad vetus Templum* in which the viscera of the Saint were interred, and in which his body reposed during the two nights which followed his death.

To return to the Bishop of Lincoln's house, the chaplain, Adam, in the account he has left of his wonderful dream of the pear-tree, tells us incidentally one or two particulars about its situation. He thought he was standing, he says, in the garden of the house in which the Bishop was lying sick. On the north and west this garden was shut in by buildings, *i.e.*, those of the house itself, to the south and the east it was open, but bounded by a moat (*fossatum*), on one side of which was an orchard, on the other a cemetery. The

St. Hugh rested before the funeral procession set out for Lincoln, and in this also his *viscera* were interred. (See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vol. vii. pp. 35 and 111; and for the date, J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 226.) As the passage from Stowe clearly shows, it is quite impossible that the "chapel" said to have formed part of Southampton House, and still entire at the beginning of this century, can be identical with the Old Temple Church familiar to St. Hugh.

pear-tree seemed to spring from the wall against which the Bishop's head was lying, but the tree itself had fallen to the south. (Cf. Ecclus. xi. 3.) So great was its bulk that it stretched much beyond the limits of the garden, and Adam says quaintly, that his first thought was: "What a pity it would be if all this good timber were left to rot! It would furnish diptychs (tablets) enough to satisfy the needs of all the scholars in England and France put together." From the whole description it seems clear that the part of the Old Temple buildings occupied by the Bishop lay to the north, and consequently abutted upon Holborn, and that the garden separated the house from a cemetery, which was no doubt the cemetery which we know the Templars to have had there. In that graveyard they wished to bury Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1143, but the knight lay under sentence of excommunication, and until the excommunication was removed, he could not be interred in consecrated ground. Hence we are told that Geoffrey's corpse was enclosed in a lead coffin, and hung in a gnarled fruit-tree, probably in the very orchard of which the chaplain speaks.[1] By the time, however, that the excommunication was removed, twenty years afterwards, the Templars had acquired another house, and they transported the body to be buried at the New Temple.

It would take us too much out of our way to discuss at any length the subsequent fortunes of the house which was the scene of the two months' sickness, and finally of the holy death of our Saint. There is no great satisfaction to be found in remembering that Russell, the Chancellor of Richard III., and Wolsey, while Bishop of Lincoln, and after him, Bishop Longland, the time-serving confessor of Henry VIII.,

[1] Cf. J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 224, and the Ramsey Chronicle.

occupied in later years the apartments consecrated by the memory of St. Hugh. At the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, or at the beginning of his successor's, the see of Lincoln was stripped of most of its possessions. The Bishop's house in Holborn formed part of the spoil, and it eventually found its way into the hands of the Earls of Southampton, changing its name on coming to its new owners. Little as there may be to admire in either Thomas or Henry Wriothesley, it is interesting to notice that in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, Southampton House was looked upon with the gravest suspicion as a centre of Catholic intrigue. It was there that Anthony Babington and his fellow-conspirators held many of their meetings, and in the formal indictment at their trial, it was charged against them that "the said John Ballard did traitorously go to Southampton House, in Holborn, within the county of Middlesex, with other false traitors, and afterwards, on the second day of August, at Southampton House, they did assent to perform the best they could in fulfilling of their treasons." Thus it came to pass that Lincoln's Inn Fields, close by, witnessed the execution of the fourteen conspirators, with all the barbarous atrocities customary in cases of high treason. With plotters like Babington we cannot, perhaps, feel much sympathy, but it was not conspirators only who found a refuge at Southampton House. It was frequented by many loyal Catholics, both priests and laymen, who were opposed to Elizabeth in no other matter but that of religion, and who suffered for their faith with a staunchness which St. Hugh, from his throne in Heaven, must have admired and applauded. Thomas Pounde, of Belmont, famous for the fortitude with which he endured torture and many weary years of prison, was the godson, and also the nephew, of Thomas, Earl of Southampton, Pounde's mother, Anne Wriothesley, having been the

Earl's sister. There is good reason to believe that this Jesuit lay-brother, like many another persecuted recusant, was a frequent visitor at Southampton House during his rare intervals of freedom.[1] We may wonder if he was aware that one of the chambers of that ancient building had been hallowed by a martyrdom of patient suffering, to which England had not often seen a parallel? The venerable walls, however, did not endure many years longer. About 1640, Southampton House was demolished, and on its site were erected a number of separate tenements, now in their turn destroyed for the most part, but the memory of which is perpetuated in the name Old Southampton Buildings.[2] — [ED.]

[1] Another godson of Earl Thomas was the Rev. Henry Chaderdon, afterwards a seminary priest and a confessor of the faith. His brothers wanted to place him in his youth in the service of the Earl. "But the Earl himself, because his mother at that time survived, and occupied the greater part of the mansion, and he was engaged in building and repairing another, put me off for the time for want of room for his household." (Foley, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 546.) I think this must refer to the house in Holborn.

[2] There is a good deal of various information to be found about Southampton House and the Old Temple in Blott's *Chronicle of Blemundsbury;* but the information is far from trustworthy, and the absence of references makes the book a most irritating one to use.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *THE FUNERAL OF ST. HUGH.*

As soon as the holy Bishop of Lincoln had breathed his last, his chaplain recited the usual prayers over his body, and then prepared to wash the remains of his beloved master, as he had previously been commanded. There was indeed no need for this charitable office, for despite the fact that the Saint had refused any such service during his sickness, the body was found perfectly white, pure, and clean. In deep admiration at the wonderful sight, the chaplain nevertheless faithfully accomplished all that he had promised. The body was carefully washed, clothed in pontifical vestments, and carried into the neighbouring Church of Our Lady of the Old Temple. By this time the ecclesiastics whom St. Hugh had invited to his funeral had begun to arrive. Many priests and monks assembled around the bier, and passed the night chanting hymns and spiritual canticles.[1] In the morning, a solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated, and the clergy who had been present at the death-bed of the Saint, could not fail to remark that the Gospel began just where the last words of the sacred narrative read to him on the day before had ended at a sign from him. It was easy to apply all the consoling

[1] "Hymnis et canticis spiritualibus." (*Magna Vita*, p. 364.) As hymns are excluded from the Office of the Dead, the author cannot be thinking of the ordinary Dirge.—[ED.]

promises which it contained to the servant of God who had just gone to his rest. "I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth in Me, although he be dead, shall live. And every one that liveth, and believeth in Me, shall not die for ever."[1]

After the Holy Sacrifice was ended, the physicians, wishing to embalm the body, removed the viscera, which were enclosed in an urn of lead, and placed under a marble slab, near the altar of Our Lady of the Old Temple.[2]

In the meantime, the news of the Saint's death had spread through the city of London. The people ran in crowds to do honour to his remains. Groans and sobs were to be heard on all sides, manifesting a deep sense of grief at the loss which they had sustained; but even more striking were the marks of veneration which freely began to be paid to the servant of God, and which were multiplied all along the road as the funeral *cortége* journeyed from London to Lincoln.

It was on Saturday, November 18th, that the triumphal procession (for indeed it was nothing less) set forth from the city. The clergy and a number of the people of London, carrying wax candles and preceded by a cross-bearer, accompanied the coffin for a considerable distance beyond the walls. When they retired, their places were filled, in succession, by men and women from every town and village through which the procession passed. The enthusiasm increased as they travelled farther north. Crowds of every rank and position in life came out to meet the Saint's body, and walked beside it, as long as

[2] St. John xi. 25, 26.

[1] The *Magna Vita*, p. 364, contains some curious details as to the state in which the viscera were found. It seems quite clear that the "physicians," who probably had much experience in such operations, were surprised at what they saw.—[ED.]

their strength held out. The honour of touching the coffin and carrying it was eagerly competed for, and those who could not approach near enough for this, on account of the immense concourse of people, thought themselves fortunate if they could see it and salute it from afar. The exceedingly bad weather which prevailed was no hindrance to these expressions of devotion; and the popular enthusiasm was soon further stimulated by the report of miracles said to have taken place while the procession was on its way.

Four serving-men on horseback carried lighted candles, on each side of the bier. It was soon perceived that nothing could extinguish these candles: neither the violence of the wind, nor the abundance of rain that fell continually, nor the hasty movements of those who held them, as they dismounted and remounted. The numerous spectators of this marvel burst forth into expressions of astonishment; many of them tried themselves to keep a candle alight under these circumstances, and could not succeed, even by protecting it with their two hands. The candles on each side of the holy remains burned in this manner for four days, until they were replaced by "horn lanterns" for the convenience of the bearers, who were covered with the melting wax, which continually ran from the flaring and guttering of the naked lights. Many of those present saw in this miracle a symbol of St. Hugh's life, which had always been as "a burning and a shining light," and a reward for the zeal he had displayed about the suitable illumination of his Cathedral.

The night between the 18th and the 19th of November was spent in the church of the monks of Hertford, and on the evening of the following day the procession arrived at Biggleswade, one of the manor-

houses belonging to the diocese of Lincoln. Here, in the midst of the crowd of weeping spectators who pressed forward into the chapel, where the holy body was to rest for that night, a man named Bernard had his arm broken at the entrance of the church. The noise of the fracture, we are told, was heard even by people standing some little distance away. The poor man was carried fainting into his house, and suffered terribly while waiting for some one skilled in surgery, who could not be summoned until daybreak. Nothing was done to the arm; and the night passed in intense pain. Towards morning the man fell into a slight sleep, when he saw the holy Bishop coming towards him, who touched the wounded arm, gave him his blessing, and disappeared. The man awoke, his pain was gone, the broken bone had united, there was not even the slightest trace of the fracture left.

On the evening of the same day, the funeral train arrived at Bugden, another episcopal manor-house, where many of the scenes of St. Hugh's former life had been passed. Here again the inhabitants were in the deepest grief. They mourned the loss of a father, whose goodness they had learnt in fourteen years of intimate intercourse. Indeed, as the procession drew nearer to Lincoln, the sorrow of the people grew more and more demonstrative. The tears of the poor and of the little children were a tribute to the dead which no pomp or pageantry could rival.

On Tuesday, November 21st, the procession entered Stamford. At the gate of the town, the crowd of people from all parts (many monks of different orders, and even nuns from the convent hard by mingling with the rest), was so densely packed, that the bearers of the coffin could not force their way through until it was nearly night. In the midst of the general emotion, one man made himself especially conspicuous for the intensity

of his devotion to St. Hugh. This was a poor shoemaker, who, although he was obliged to gain his own living and support his family by the sweat of his brow, had never neglected the care of his soul, and edified the whole town by the holiness of his life and his zeal in all good works. Being prevented from approaching the coffin, by the dense crowd that surrounded it, he knelt down and was heard by many to pray aloud, in the following words: "O God of mercy! Why wilt Thou not permit me to approach the body of Thy faithful servant? Gladly would I kiss the hem of his garment, or bow my neck under those sacred remains![1] O Thou Who seest all hearts, Jesus, my sweetest Saviour, grant me this one grace. Suffer me to draw near to this sacred bier, and then call my soul to Thyself, far away from the world and its miseries." Moved by his faith and devotion, those who stood near the poor man made room for him to pass between them, so that at last he succeeded in getting close to the coffin, when he knelt down and venerated it. Then, raising his eyes and his hands to heaven, he exclaimed: "I give Thee thanks, O Father of mercy and God of all consolation, because Thou hast had

[1] It is noteworthy that in nearly all mediæval representations of the translations of relics, one or more figures are depicted as standing under the bier itself, between the bearers. The thirteenth century stained glass medallion in Lincoln Cathedral, which represents the funeral of St. Hugh, supplies an illustration in point. The bier is carried by three Bishops, or Archbishops, in front, and by three Kings behind, and between the two is the smaller figure of a cripple, no doubt intended to indicate the sufferers miraculously healed by the Saint. It may be remarked also that mediæval shrines were commonly constructed with apertures in the sides, through which it was possible to come into closer proximity with the actual coffin. In the representations of miracles we constantly see devotees portrayed as bending down and inserting their heads through these apertures. It was common even to pass the whole night lying in some such position. (See the account of the miraculous cure of Yvetta, the paralyzed woman, Giraldus, vol. vii. p. 185.) The medallion just referred to is figured in Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. i. p. 115.—[Ed.]

pity on me, and hast granted me the consolation of bringing my sinful body near to this holy body of Thy servant. And now, O Lord Almighty, do Thou also grant the rest of my prayer, and allow my soul to be united this night with the soul of Thy Saint in Heaven."

After this touching scene, the coffin was taken into the church, where it was to remain till the morning, and the poor man retired into his own house, which was close at hand, on the other side of the road. But only a very short time afterwards, his neighbours came rushing into the church, calling out for a priest, and begging that the Holy Viaticum might be taken at once to the good shoemaker, who was dying. His prayers had been answered, and he had been attacked by a sudden and fatal illness. He had just time to make his confession and to receive the Holy Viaticum, and almost immediately after the Blessed Sacrament had been brought to him he breathed his last sigh in peace. St. Hugh had obtained for this poor artisan the favour he coveted, and the client followed his patron to Heaven as the representative of that humbler portion of his flock to whom so much of the Bishop's care had been given.

It was only a short time afterwards, as has already been mentioned, that one of the Saint's chaplains received the same favour. The holy Bishop during his life had been fond of relating similar stories of deaths miraculously granted in answer to prayer, such as those, for instance, which may be found recorded in the Life of St. Aicardus, Abbot of Jumièges. He considered that there was more edification in these than in those more marvellous prodigies where the dead are restored to life, for he looked upon it as the greatest of all graces to be delivered from the miseries of this world, and to be brought safely to the enjoyment of the vision of God.

On Wednesday, November 22nd, Ancaster was reached, and between that town and Lincoln there remained only about twenty miles. On that same day the convocation of Bishops and nobles was opened at Lincoln with great solemnity. King John, as soon as he arrived, repaired to the Cathedral, where he presented a golden chalice to the altar of St. John the Baptist.[1] William, King of Scotland, then took an oath of fealty to the English monarch, upon the cross of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of a large concourse of people, as well as many nobles of the two countries, on a hill outside the walls of the town.[2] On the next day, November 23rd,[3] a no less imposing procession descended from beside this same eminence to meet the body of St. Hugh, coming to be laid to rest in his own episcopal city.

At the head of the ecclesiastics walked the Primate Hubert, supported by two other Archbishops, one Irish, the other Slavonic,[4] fourteen Bishops, and more than

[1] It is Hoveden who tells us both of the offering of the chalice and of William's oath of fealty. There was a superstition about an English King wearing his crown in Lincoln, and that is presumably the reason why Hoveden says of the former act: "Johannes rex Angliæ *intrepidus et contra consilium multorum* intravit ecclesiam cathedralem Lincolniensem." Hoveden wrote early in the reign, and could have had no idea how subsequent disasters would seem to justify the forebodings of John's advisers.—[ED.]

[2] The colloquy took place "extra civitatem Lincolniæ super montem arduum," according to Hoveden. (vol. iv. p. 141.) I think that this must have been the eminence just beyond the castle, now the site of the lunatic asylum.—[ED.]

[3] It is curious that King John seems to have chosen this day, Thursday, to be bled. The Archbishop of Canterbury had wanted to plead the cause of the Cistercians with him; and John replied, "Domine Archiepiscope, precor ne me hodie iratum reddas, quia flebotomari proposui." (Coggeshall, p. 107.)—[ED.]

[4] "Yberniarum unus, et Slaviarum archiepiscopus alius." (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 18.) These were the Archbishop of Dublin and the Archbishop of Ragusa in Dalmatia. The name of the latter was Bernard, and in 1203 he was made Administrator of Carlisle. (See Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum*

a hundred Abbots.[1] After them came the two Kings of England and Scotland, surrounded by a brilliant train of nobles, and a crowd of persons of almost every European nationality—Slavonians, Scotch, Irish, Welsh (with one of their princes[2] at their head), united with the French and the English in this tribute of honour and veneration to the holy Bishop of Lincoln. There were even Jews who had come to show their respect for one whose noble character they had learned to appreciate. St. Hugh's chaplain describes them as openly weeping and lamenting, and proclaiming the dead prelate "a true servant of the great God." Their presence and their homage appeared to the chaplain to be a realization of the words of Holy Scripture: "The blessing of all nations the Lord has given unto him."[3]

When the coffin came in sight a thrill of emotion ran through the vast crowd. The King of Scotland could not contain his grief.[4] He turned aside and gave

*Anglicanum*, p. 51.) In the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls in the Tower*, p. 2, we find among the letters patent for 5 John, a Brief from Pope Innocent III. to the King, recommending the Archbishop of Ragusa for the bishopric of Carlisle. But see Mr. Dimock's note, Giraldus, *Opera*, vol. vii. p. 114.—[ED.]

[1] The *Magna Vita* speaks of fifty Cistercian Abbots who had come to Lincoln to plead with John for the removal of the tax imposed upon their Order (p. 378), and is also the authority for saying that there were a hundred Abbots in all.—[ED.]

[2] The author of the *Vita Metrica* puts him on the same footing as the Kings of England and Scotland, and speaks of "*three* Kings" having been present at the burial of St. Hugh. The author of the *Magna Vita* appears to us to be nearer the truth, in speaking of him as "a Prince of the country of Wales." [Hoveden, however, refers to "Griffino filio Resi *rege* de Suthuales (South Wales). It is also possible that Roland, Prince of Galloway, who is specially mentioned by Adam, Coggeshall, and Giraldus, might be meant.—ED.]

[3] Ecclus. xliv. 25.

[4] Mr. Dimock, relying on Hoveden, seems to think that William the Lion was not present at the funeral. I must confess that in my judgment the balance of the evidence lies altogether the other way. The presence of

full vent to his sorrow. Abbot Adam seems to imply that he could not master himself sufficiently to take part like his brother monarch in carrying the sacred remains up the hill to their last resting-place. But King John and all the great nobles who were present there succeeded each other in bearing the honoured burden. Through the streets, which were inundated by the torrents of rain that had fallen, they advanced, without any regard for the mud, which reached almost to their knees. An indescribable enthusiasm was manifested around the holy body, which was carried slowly towards the Cathedral, to the sound of solemn hymns and the tolling of all the bells in the city.[1] At the great doors of the church, the Archbishops and Bishops took possession of the coffin and brought it into the sanctuary. The actual interment was deferred until the following morning, but the day was not to close without a new manifestation of the glory of St. Hugh, in the Cathedral which was the monument of his zeal.

After the holy body had been exposed some little time for the veneration of the faithful, it was taken into an adjoining hall, and reclothed in all the episcopal ornaments which the Saint had worn on the day of his consecration. The good chaplain, who thus religiously fulfilled all his master's last wishes, has left his testimony of what he witnessed in these words: "Truly the sight we then beheld was nothing short of a miracle. The flesh, as we uncovered it, shone like snow, and though so many days had now elapsed since death, it had about it a glory as it were of the risen body. There

William is affirmed not only by St. Hugh's chaplain, but by R. de Diceto, Giraldus, and especially by Coggeshall, who plainly shows that he possessed full and independent information about this Lincoln assembly. Matthew Paris, and all the later chroniclers, are on the same side.—[Ed.]

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. chs. 19, 20; Wendover, vol. iii. p. 162.

was nothing livid or discoloured or corpse-like about the holy remains. The arms, the hands, and the fingers were as supple and flexible as those of a person in life. When we had clothed him in his pontifical vestments, he was again carried into the choir. The faithful then flocked in. They bore in their hands lighted tapers; they kissed the hands and feet of their father; they encircled his place of repose with a crown of light; they offered gold, silver, and precious stones.[1] During this time, as we sat at a little distance conversing with the venerable Dean of the Cathedral, there came to us some persons in wonder and excitement, saying: 'Have you seen how beautiful the face of our Bishop has become? It has taken the colour of the loveliest rose. No one could believe he was dead; he looks as if he were but sleeping sweetly.' The Dean listened stupefied, but I interrupted the speakers: 'You make a mistake, dear brothers,' I said; 'the face of our Bishop is indeed marvellously radiant and comely, but there are no roses upon his cheeks. Only a few moments ago were we admiring their fairness.' But they led us back to the holy body, and there we were all witnesses of the change that had taken place. The lovely rose colour was truly there, and it remained on our Bishop's face until he was laid in the tomb.[2] Well

[1] To give some idea of the number and value of these offerings, the chaplain says afterwards, that in a short time the amount exceeded forty silver marks. This is the equivalent of at least £800 in the money of the present day. Giraldus mentions a smaller sum, but seems to be referring only to what was given in money. Rings and gold ornaments were contributed as well.—[ED.]

[2] There is no class of alleged miracles for which the evidence seems to me to be so overwhelmingly conclusive as the marvellous occurrences which are constantly recorded in connection with the bodies of the Saints after death. Whatever explanation may be given of them, it is impossible to doubt the facts. The perfect flexibility of the limbs many days, in some cases many years, after death, the freedom from any sign of corruption, the sweet fragrance exhaled from them, and many other remarkable

might those words of the Prophet Jeremias come back to our mind: *Candidiores nive, nitidiores lacte, rubicundiores ebore antiquo*—'Whiter than snow, purer than milk, more ruddy than old ivory.'"[1]

This was not the only wonder that occurred on this memorable evening. "We had returned to our former place," continues the chaplain, "when a deputation of the townspeople arrived in haste, to tell the Dean that a woman, who had been blind for a long time, had recovered her sight by touching the holy body. They asked us to ring the bells and entone the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving. But we refused to do this, because the woman was unknown to us and we could not be sure of the truth of her story. We said that the case must be thoroughly examined into, before we could allow it to be made public."[2]

This fact is interesting as showing that the chaplain, with all his simple faith, was not altogether reckless in his reception of miracles. As one trained up in the school of St. Hugh to cultivate a very delicate conscience in the matter of truth, we could not have expected him to act otherwise. This miracle, on examination, proved to be well attested, as he tells us

phenomena, are attested in case after case by witnesses whose veracity there is not the least reason to suspect. There are scores, one might even say hundreds, of such instances recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Menologia* of the Religious Orders. Neither have these phenomena become any less frequent in modern times. The only difference in this matter between the nineteenth century and the centuries which have preceded, is that in our day the evidence is more carefully sifted. In St. Hugh's case it might of course be contended that his body was roughly embalmed, but this was quite an exception, and in any case it does not explain that perfect suppleness of the limbs a week after death which his faithful chaplain vouches for above.—[ED.]

[1] Lament. iv. 7.

[2] "Veritatem super hoc, et super aliis quæ procul dubio audiri contingeret signis, diligentissime semper inquirendam primitus, et non nisi certissime probata quolibet modo propalanda et publice prædicanda monuimus." (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 20.)

himself later on. The woman had actually lost an eye for seven years; she recovered it, with perfect sight, on touching the body of St. Hugh.[1]

Another marvel occurred soon afterwards. A lady of high rank was praying beside the body, when a thief who was in the crowd, perceiving the well-filled purse which was hanging from her girdle, cut the silken cord by which it was fastened, and made his escape without being detected. But he could not escape the vengeance of Heaven. As he fled away he was struck with sudden blindness, and could no longer find his way. He wandered backwards and forwards, staggering like a drunken man, and soon attracted general attention. He was asked what ailed him, and replied at last by holding up the stolen purse, which was recognized by the owner. Then, in piteous tones, he revealed how he had been stricken with blindness. But God was merciful, for the repentent thief, having made restitution of the stolen property, forthwith received his sight again by the intercession of St. Hugh.[2]

A knight of Lindsey, well known to the canons of Lincoln, also presented himself before the body of the Saint. His arm was so eaten away by a frightful cancer, that the bone was laid bare. He held it against the face of St. Hugh, and begged of him, with tears, the grace of a cure. The prayer was granted. The bone gradually began to be covered with flesh,

[1] Wendover, vol. iii. p. 163.

[2] Hoveden, iv. p. 143, gives rather a different account of this incident. He puts a number of Latin verses into the mouth of the thief; but I see no reason to believe with Bishop Stubbs that the chronicler wishes his readers to suppose that the thief miraculously spouted Latin verse. Very possibly John of Leicester, or some other versifier, wrote a poem on the funeral from which Hoveden has borrowed a few passages to light up his narrative. Indeed, on a closer examination this seems certain, for while Hoveden supposes the thief to have been punished with paralysis, the verses he quotes, like the *Magna Vita*, refer to *blindness* -"Ereptaque lumina reddunt."—[ED.]

the flesh with skin, and the arm was completely healed of this terrible disease, which the physicians had declared to be incurable. Not even the slightest trace of a scar remained two days afterwards, as was certified by the Dean of the Chapter and many other trustworthy witnesses, who had seen the cancer before the miraculous cure took place. The knight, full of joy and gratitude, proclaimed to all the praises of God and of His faithful servant.[1]

In the midst of the enthusiasm excited by these miracles, a certain John of Leicester, who seems to have enjoyed some sort of a literary reputation, composed a Latin distich, wherein he tried to summarize the special glories of St. Hugh. The following are the words :

PONTIFICUM BACULUS, MONACHORUM NORMA, SCHOLARUM
CONSULTOR, REGUM MALLEUS, HUGO FUIT.[2]

The lines can hardly be described as a work of genius, but they seem to have had a great vogue with the poet's contemporaries. Probably it was felt that they succeeded in their aim of recalling in the briefest space Hugh's principal titles to veneration.

[1] Le Couteulx, *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 259; Giraldus Cambrensis, ii. ch. 2. (vol. vii. pp. 117 and 118); *Vita Metrica*, 1188—1230. This is an extract from the *Vita Metrica :*

Sanatur, funere tacto,
Funestum vulnus ; os carne, caro cute, mire
Induitur : nusquam morbi vestigia, nusquam
Signa cicatricis, veterem perhibentia plagam.

This miracle is not mentioned in the *Magna Vita*, but in the Report of the Papal Commissioners it is stated that it was attested by Roger Rolleston, the Dean, and the knight's brother. Giraldus Cambrensis calls the disease a *gutta festra*, a term not to be found in the Sydenham Society's Dictionary. There are several rather material discrepancies between the various accounts, and it is not altogether surprising that Abbot Adam omits it.—[ED.]

[2] "Hugh was the Pastors' staff, of Monks the Rule,
Hammer of Kings, Oracle of the School."

In the solemn Dirge which was celebrated beside the Saint's remains on the Thursday evening, the Bishops then assembled in Lincoln exhibited another mark of respect for the deceased, by claiming as a privilege the right to sing the lessons which occur in the Office. These lessons accordingly were chanted only by Archbishops and Bishops, and in the same way the *Responsoria* were intoned and the versicles were sung by none but prelates of the highest rank.[1]

At last, on Friday, November 24th, after another solemn Requiem, the body of St. Hugh was finally deposited in the tomb. This was made the occasion of a supreme demonstration of piety and affection. Every one in the Cathedral pressed forward to take a last look at the calm and beautiful face, which was now to be hidden from their gaze. As he was being borne from the choir to the chapel of St. John the Baptist, the procession was more than once forced back by the surging crowd, who tried to secure some little fragment of the vestments or the ornaments which had been in contact with his body. Every one of these was preserved as a sacred relic. According to his own wish, the body of St. Hugh was laid near the altar of St. John the Baptist, close to the wall on the north side. This position was chosen in order to afford free access to the pilgrims, who from the very beginning came in numbers to recommend themselves to God beside his tomb.

It is impossible not to recognize the action of Divine Providence in the extraordinary solemnity of these obsequies, when we remember that the Saint's greatest care in life had been the reverent burial of the dead,

[1] This was the second time that the solemn Office for the Dead was sung for St. Hugh in the Cathedral. It had been sung first a few days before, when the news of the Bishop's death arrived there. (*Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 17.)

especially of those who were poor and friendless. It was fitting that when he in turn was borne to the grave, Kings and subjects, knights and monks, princes of the Church and princes of the world, gentle and simple, all should unite in honouring and mourning over this hero of charity towards the departed.

Even King John, who had played a not ignoble part in the demonstration, seems for the time being to have fallen under the spell of him who had been called the "hammer of Kings."[1] Far from being offended at the title, which was freely given to the departed Saint, in his presence, he showed how true it was, by yielding to an impulse of generosity which had touched his heart at the tomb of St. Hugh. In honour of the memory of the great Carthusian Bishop, he granted a signal favour to another Religious Order. He renounced all claim to an arbitrary contribution which he had hitherto rigorously exacted from the Cistercian monks in England, and promised likewise to build them a monastery worthy of his kingly dignity. In no other way could he have made himself more

[1] A curious bit of evidence, which tends to show that the Abbot Adam is not greatly exaggerating the impression made by St. Hugh's death and funeral is contained in the Liberate Rolls for the fifth year of John. In a memorandum addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer, the King acknowledges the receipt of certain sums borrowed by him from the citizens of Lincoln three years before "when we were at Louth, immediately after the death of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln,"—*quando fuimus apud Luham proximo post mortem H. episcopi Linc.* One might have expected that this royal visit to Lincoln would have been identified by the great assembly convened there for the homage of the King of Scots, but the funeral of St. Hugh seems to have left the deeper impression. (Cf. *Rotuli de Liberate*, Hardy, p. 89.) It may be noted also that in 1207 John went out of his way to pay a visit to the Charterhouse at Witham. (Hardy, *Description of Patent Rolls*, p. 135.) The funeral of St. Hugh is included by the herald Gwyllym among his "Six Solemn Funerals," and, as mentioned in a previous note, appears to have been made the subject of a Latin poem, which Hoveden quotes.—[Ed.]

pleasing in the eyes of St. Hugh, the faithful and loving champion of all Religious Orders.[1]

## Note to Book IV. Chapter VIII.

There can be no reasonable doubt that an erroneous tradition has grown up in Lincoln with regard to the spot in which the body of St. Hugh was originally interred at the time of his solemn obsequies. Mr. Dimock[1] and Precentor Venables,[2] to both of whom Lincoln archæology owes so much, together with several other writers of less note,[3] have all committed themselves to the statement that St. Hugh was first buried in the north-east transept, in the more northerly of the two apsidal chapels which are found there. This assumption, as Mr. T. J. Willson, the architect, has clearly shown,[4] is a mistake suggested apparently by the statement of the *Magna Vita* that his tomb was placed, according to his desire, in the chapel of St. John the Baptist against the wall, *a boreali ipsius ædis regione*—"on the north side of the building." The last words obviously are ambiguous. They might of course refer

[1] The royal diploma for this is dated *Lincoln, November 26th*, the second day after the funeral of the Saint. (R. Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 110.) It is curious that Coggeshall, though he speaks most appreciatively of St. Hugh, does not directly connect the favour shown to the Cistercians with his name. At the same time he states that a "spirit of wisdom and piety had filled the heart of the King," and implies that this conversion was quite sudden and unexpected. Seeing that John even went so far as to prostrate himself before the Cistercian Abbots, and to implore their forgiveness with tears (Coggeshall, p. 109), the impression must have been a strong one. What is more, John kept his promise about building a monastery, by founding the Abbey of Beaulieu, or Bewley. (See Preface to *Magna Vita*, Dimock, p. lx.)—[Ed.]

[1] *Magna Vita*, p. 377, marginal note, and more explicitly, Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. vii. p. 221, note.

[2] In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. 50, p. 39.

[3] *e.g.*, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott in his *Memorials of Lincoln*.

[4] *Archæological Journal*, vol. 51, p. 104.

to a position in one of the transepts of the church which would place the tomb altogether north of the main fabric, but they also lend themselves equally well to the interpretation that the body lay in the nave or choir, but on the northern or Gospel, as opposed to the southern or Epistle side of the cathedral. That this latter interpretation is alone admissible seems to me to be certain, both from the arguments adduced by Mr. Willson, as also from other considerations which he has not touched upon. The principal points in the argument are briefly these.

(1) It is admitted that the Saint was interred in 1200, near the altar of St. John the Baptist. Now after the building of the Angel choir and the translation of St. Hugh's remains in 1280, we know for certain that the chapel of St. John the Baptist was the central chapel in the Angel choir itself,—the main chapel, that is, directly behind and beyond the high altar, occupying the position usually assigned to the Lady chapel.[1] The strong presumption is that before the building of the Angel choir the chapel of St. John the Baptist occupied a corresponding situation at the head of the old hexagonal apse with which St. Hugh's church terminated.

(2) The stone tomb and inner coffin of lead have actually been discovered built into the north wall of the old apse below the level of the present pavement. But as I shall have occasion to show later, there was only one translation of St. Hugh's remains. Therefore, since this is not the gorgeous shrine of the Angel choir, it must be the original resting-place of the Saint. It is inconceivable that such a cumbrous object as this stone coffin should be moved from the transept and securely fixed in a new position in the old apse merely to be hidden under the pavement.

But (3) everything goes to show that the chapel of

[1] See *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, vol. ii. p. 894; and Preface, p. lxx.

St. John the Baptist, of which so much is said in the final chapters of the *Magna Vita*, must have occupied an important position. If it were only a subordinate side-chapel of insignificant dimensions in the transept, it is hardly conceivable that St. Hugh could have been so anxious for its completion before the Lincoln assembly,[1] or that he should have been afraid of his tomb obstructing the pavement, or that King John, before the Saint's funeral, should have offered a chalice there. On the other hand, suppose it to be the principal chapel of the *capitium* or apse of St. Hugh's new work (*novi operis*),[2] and the whole thing becomes clear. The completion of the chapel of St. John the Baptist will then mean the completion of the east end of the church. The central chapel of the new work will then be the place of honour, and it was most natural that that should be given to St. John the Baptist, because the great Precursor was the special patron of St. Hugh and the Carthusians, and also because in the Cathedral of Lincoln, which was dedicated to St. Mary, the high altar was the Lady altar. Even though there might be a second Lady altar, it was not likely to be placed in so central a position, directly behind the first. Other indications might be quoted which point to the same conclusions, but this is not a fitting place for going into the matter more fully.— [Ed.]

[1] *Magna Vita*, p. 337.

[2] Giraldus, *Vita S. Remigii*, says of St. Hugh: "Item ecclesiæ suæ capicium pariis lapidibus marmoreisque columnis miro artificio renovavit et totum a fundamento opere sumptuosissimo novum erexit" (p. 40). Cf. Mr. Dimock's note on the word *capicium*, Fr. *chevet*, p. 252, and Preface, p. xlviii.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *CANONIZATION OF ST. HUGH.*[1]

The honours paid to St. Hugh at his funeral, were only the prelude to that still more signal mark of respect which is rendered by the Church of Christ to those holy men upon whose heroic sanctity God has set His seal. The numerous miracles which took place at the tomb of the Saint, led to the expression of an earnest desire that the Holy See would proceed to his canonization. Of these miraculous cures, and of their consequences, we have now to speak, but a word may first be said of a somewhat extraordinary dream, which is interesting as having occurred to St. Hugh's chaplain and biographer, whose former vision at the Bishop of Lincoln's house in Holborn has been referred to in a previous page.

This second dream occurred not long after the Saint's death, and it is related by Abbot Adam with a circumstantial minuteness which it would be tedious to reproduce at length. In sum the vision was this. The chaplain thought that he was standing with a crowd of people in some huge church, waiting for the Bishop. Suddenly the ears of the dreamer were ravished with sweet harmonies, and he for whom they waited was seen to be lying on a couch most richly adorned, in the midst of all the throng. Then the Bishop, sitting up, beckoned to Adam to approach and converse with him.

[1] Some modifications and omissions in the text of the French Life have been admitted without scruple in this and the following chapter.—[Ed.]

His chaplain made bold to ask how it had fared with him since his death, and what was the meaning of this heavenly music? "Since I left you," answered the Saint, "I have never ceased to hear these songs of joy." Satisfied by this answer that his beloved master could have experienced no sadness where such entrancing strains continually delighted his ears, the chaplain asked to know the truth about the story, already recounted above, that the Saint in life had enjoyed a vision of the Divine Infant in the Sacred Host, adding: "I was often on the point of questioning you, dear master, in our many conversations together, but I never could summon up courage; and now I regret that I let the opportunity go by." But the Saint returned only a baffling answer. "Even though," he said, "God should have made such a revelation to me on the occasion you mention, and at other times, what of it? I do not see how it should concern you?" The chaplain dared not press the question further, but he went on to ask about certain doubts and misgivings with which he was tormented concerning his own perseverance, and his lot in a future life. "And that good comforter of the perplexed," he tells us, "provided a medicine for all my scruples in one pregnant sentence. 'Be thou anxious only to lead a good life on earth, and all further anxieties leave to the mercy of God.'" And therewith the vision disappeared, leaving the chaplain so consoled and comforted that from that day forth his spiritual troubles departed from him almost entirely.

Although other faithful souls had not enjoyed this exceptional privilege, they had yet no doubts whatever as to the glory and power of the Saint, and they came in crowds to his tomb. Their faith was rewarded by many miracles, several of which were juridically investigated during the process of canonization, and were

confirmed by satisfactory evidence. Perhaps the most striking and touching of all was the case of a little child, who was restored to his mother by the intercession of the Saint who had so tenderly loved the little ones of his flock. A woman who lived near Lincoln had the sorrow of seeing her son die, after an illness which had lasted fifteen days. The poor child's body became stiff and cold. A kind neighbour, who was present, closed the eyes, and straightened the limbs for burial. It was night, and the broken-hearted mother, bathed in tears, remained beside her dead child until the day dawned. Then, her faith and confidence triumphing over her desolation, she exclaimed: "Ah! even if my child were already buried, God could restore him to me, through the merits of St. Hugh!" She knelt down, and solemnly promised to burn a wax-candle as tall as her child at the tomb of the holy Bishop, and immediately took the measure of the little corpse.[1] The sun had now risen, and her friends and neighbours came in, to make preparations for the funeral, and sent to secure the services of a priest. But the mother still hoped, and her gaze was fixed on the child. Suddenly the eyelids began to quiver, and a faint sigh shook the little frame. The dead had been restored to life, and the believing mother, almost beside herself with joy, once more clasped a living child to her bosom. In a few days the boy had quite recovered his health, and his parents took him to the tomb of St. Hugh, to make their united thanksgiving.[2]

[1] The practice of "measuring" a sick person to a particular saint or a particular shrine, was an exceedingly common one in England in the middle ages. The accounts of the miracles of St. Thomas of Hereford, or of St. William of York, supply many examples of it.—[ED.]

[2] This story was sworn to by the parents of the child, John the Carpenter, and Constance his wife, and by two other women. We also learn from the report of the Commissioners, that the boy himself appeared before them, and as they call him *puer*, the miracle cannot have taken

A young man, named John, had for many years been paralyzed from the waist downwards, to such an extent that he had no use whatever of his lower limbs. Hearing that many miracles were taking place at the tomb, he had himself carried there on the eve of the feast of our Lady's Assumption. He passed the whole night in prayer, but falling asleep towards morning, he saw the blessed Saint, after celebrating Mass, come to him, radiant in beauty, his mitre on his head, his hands stretched out to bless, and his heavenly voice telling the helpless cripple to arise and walk. John obeyed; he extended his poor useless legs, and finding that strength had returned to them, he stood upright. And although at first he staggered, and was like to fall, in a few minutes he could stand and walk, and was completely cured. He continued to live near the Cathedral after the miracle, frequently visiting the houses of the canons, who assisted him in his poverty.[1]

A woman, called Alice, was also paralyzed to such an extent that she could not move at all without assistance. Her usual place was at the door of the Cathedral; but she was carried to the Saint's tomb, where she prayed fervently, and shed many tears. After a few moments a violent noise was heard; every bone in her body seemed to be cracking and moving. It announced a complete cure, and she rose up in perfect health.[2]

place very long before 1219, the date of the inquiry. An apparently complete copy of the report, not noticed by Mr. Dimock, is to be found in a British Museum MS. Cotton Roll, xiii. 27. Here the miracle above related stands first in order of those recorded after the Saint's death. —[ED.]

[1] From the report of the Commissioners, we learn that the poor cripple had been an inmate of the hospital of Lincoln for four years before his cure, and that the miracle was attested by the Sisters who managed it. In the copy of this report in the Cotton Roll, it is stated that the man came from Wikeford, the southern suburb of Lincoln.—[ED.]

[2] We learn from the Commissioners' report, that one of the vergers in the church, in order to test how far her limbs were really insensible to pain, drove an ox-goad into the sole of her foot, right down to the bone,

Two other paralytic women were believed to have incurred their affliction by breaking the Sunday rest. One of them, Yveta by name, had washed her child's clothes on Saturday after None (the hour at which, in many countries of Europe, all servile work was laid aside), and had dried them on the following day. For this, as it seemed, she was severely punished. Her left hand was struck with paralysis, and the arm was rendered powerless as far as the elbow. One night she dreamt that she had obtained a cure by repeating the Lord's Prayer nine times at the tomb of St. Hugh. On awaking, she at once set out on a pilgrimage to the Cathedral, and before she had finished the ninth *Pater*, she was seized with a sharp pain, after which she slept. When she awoke, she found that the use of her hand had been restored to her.[1]

Another woman was supposed to have done some kind of servile work after Vespers on Saturday. Immediately the sinews of her hands contracted in such a manner that the thumbs could not be detached from the palms. At first the custodian of the tomb of St. Hugh made vain efforts to open the paralyzed hands by main force, but on Palm Sunday they were suddenly restored to their normal state, through the intercession of the Saint.[2]

without her having the least sensation. The same man bore witness on oath of the noise that attended her cure. One other man and a woman gave evidence of her previous infirmity, and of the recovery of the use of her limbs. They were not, however, present at the miracle. This is the last of some thirty cases investigated and recorded in the Cotton Roll.—[ED.]

[1] Her statement was confirmed by a priest named Thomas, and by another lay witness. Obviously it is quite possible, in this and the following case, to believe the facts of the cure without necessarily adopting the theory suggested to account for the malady.—[ED.]

[2] The woman, whose name was Alice, came from Keal, near Spilsby. The Bishop (? Hugh de Wells) seems to have preached a sermon on the miracle the same day; and the case had been examined into by the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter before the Commissioners investigated it. (See the Cotton Roll.) Further particulars are given by Giraldus, vii. p. 121.—[ED.]

On another occasion, a poor woman was brought in a basket to the tomb. She was terribly deformed, and paralyzed, being obliged to remain continually crouched upon her heels. She had suffered like this for three years. After passing the night in prayer, she slept, and on awaking, felt all her sinews extending, while a cracking noise was heard in her bones and joints. This violent crisis ended happily in a complete cure. The paralyzed woman arose and walked.[1]

Three other paralytic persons received a similar favour. One had lost his speech, and the use of the whole of his left side; another had his mouth twisted and distorted, while he also suffered from some affection of the eyes; the third was bedridden, and entirely helpless. St. Hugh restored all to perfect health.

Besides these, the commission report upon the cure of three blind people. One was a beggar, called Simon, who was well known to the canons of Lincoln; this man recovered his sight on the feast of Pentecost.[2] Another was a woman named Matilda, who was led by her friends every morning to the Cathedral, until one day she happily found herself cured, and able to walk home without assistance. The third was an inhabitant of Rothwell, who had lost his sight for three weeks. As he knelt at the tomb of St. Hugh during Mass, he suddenly

[1] This miracle was attested by the sworn depositions of two laymen, one of whom had taken her into his house during the three years of her sickness, and also by two women who had accompanied her to the Cathedral.—[ED.]

[2] Roger Rolleston, the Dean of Lincoln, St. Hugh's friend and executor, was one of the four witnesses who deposed to this miracle. He was asked how he knew the man was blind. He said that he had a white film over his eyes, and was always tumbling over obstacles in his path. Also, when he recovered his sight he was at first unable to recognize his friends by their faces, but only when he heard them speak. The man had been begging among the canons for several years before his cure, and after the miracle Dean Roger kept him for two years in his own house. (Cotton Roll.)—[ED.]

exclaimed, "I can see; I can see the light of the candles which I brought to honour the holy Bishop."

Two dumb persons were also cured, and four cases of dropsy.[1] Among the latter was a noble lady, whose body was horribly swollen. She made a vow to visit the tomb of St. Hugh, and after fulfilling her vow, she drank some water in which the Bishop's ring had been dipped. She was immediately relieved, and two days after the cure was completed.

Another lady, like the last a person of high rank, had had several children, but all still-born. Acting on a mysterious intimation which had been given to her serving-woman in a dream, she had the model of a little infant made in wax, and offered it at the tomb of St. Hugh. Thanks to the intercession of the Saint, she afterwards bore six living children to her husband, all of them strong and robust.

Amongst other miraculous cures examined into and attested by the Commissioners, those of lunatics occupy a prominent place. There are about nine such cases mentioned in all, and we may conclude that this was the most frequent type of miracle performed at the tomb. It was only natural that St. Hugh should show himself a kind father after his death to the poor

[1] One of these dropsical cases is very striking. It was that of a woman of Beverley, named Matilda. She had been grievously afflicted for three years, "adeo ut non solum faciem et tibias verum etiam ventrem et corpus totum in modum vesicæ perlucidum haberet et luridum, distentum enormiter et inflatum." This, without any external discharge, was instantaneously cured at the tomb of St. Hugh. The canons of Lincoln investigated the case, and wrote to the Chapter of Beverley to inquire into the truth of the woman's past history. The reply of the Beverley canons is given in full in the Cotton Roll (and, I think, nowhere else). They explain that "after summoning many discreet and trustworthy witnesses, not only priests and clerks, but also laymen and matrons," they have found the facts fully confirmed. When the reply of the canons was received in Lincoln, a great demonstration took place, and all the bells of the city were rung. (Cf. Giraldus, vii. p. 125.)—[Ed.]

sufferers whose affliction had so often moved his compassion in his lifetime. The author of the *Vita Metrica*, who wrote when the canonization was still a recent event, seems to have had access to a copy of the report upon the miracles, and his classification is in tolerably close agreement with the data furnished by that document. The cures duly attested and transmitted to the Pope, these being only a few out of many, were, he says, four cases of quinsy, one of "fistula gutta" (apparently used to designate cancer), three of paralysis, three cripples, two dumb men, two hunchbacks, one child restored to life, one case of jaundice, one man with the pleurisy, the woman with the still-born children, four dropsical patients, the same number of blind men, and nine who were insane.[1]

About a month after the funeral, King John returned to Lincoln to elect a successor to St. Hugh. The canons showed that the lessons and example of their Father had not been lost upon them. They refused the candidate recommended by the King, and insisted upon full liberty of election. The personage against whom this opposition of theirs was directed was Roger Beaumont, a brother of the powerful Earl of Leicester, of whom we have spoken before. Roger Beaumont was already Bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, and was much favoured by King John, to whose Court he had attached himself ever since the new King had succeeded to the throne. At this juncture St. Hugh came to the assistance of his anxious canons. One night he appeared to a noble and pious lady, who saw him seated in his episcopal chair, and pushing the King's candidate away from him with his crozier. The next morning, as the lady was relating her dream to some of her friends, the

[1] See the comprehensive accounts given by Giraldus Cambrensis of the miracles of St. Hugh, *Vita S. Hugonis*, Dist. ii. and iii. From him we learn of the precautions taken to verify every cure worked by the Saint.

startling news was brought to her that the Bishop of St. Andrew's was dead.[1]

His brother, Robert Fitz-Parnell, ought, we might think, to have taken warning by this catastrophe. He had unscrupulously disregarded the rights of St. Hugh and the diocese of Lincoln, by trying to appropriate to himself an important village near Leicester. The affair was carried before the King's tribunal in London, in the month of May, 1198.[2] St. Hugh was advised to come to terms with Fitz-Parnell. The latter had brought forward several specious reasons for his unjust proceedings, and the King and most of the judges were in his favour. It was a difficult position for St. Hugh, but he never faltered in defending the rights of his diocese. "We tell you," he said to those who were advising him to yield, "we tell you that never in our lifetime shall the Earl succeed in his perverse design. He has taken advantage of a time of war to get possession of our title-deeds. If he persists in retaining them, it will be to his own destruction, and the ruin of his house. As for ourselves, with the aid of our Lady, we trust to preserve intact the inheritance confided by her to our

[1] He died in 1202, and in the following year William of Blois, Precentor and Canon of Lincoln, was elected and consecrated as St. Hugh's successor. His episcopate was a brief one (1203—1206), but he was a man, to judge from Schalby's account, of great holiness of life. A hundred years after his death his body was found incorrupt. There was, apparently, some talk at one time of Giraldus Cambrensis being advanced to this dignity, so at least Giraldus tells us himself. (*Opera*, vol. iii. p. 340.)—[ED.]

[2] In connection with this incident Hugh's biographer records a trait which illustrates further the Saint's scrupulous truthfulness. In any lawsuit in a secular court the Bishop would never "essoign" himself, *i.e.*, plead that it was impossible for him to appear in court on a particular day. As the records of the time show, this was the commonest of ruses in all litigation, and was often most efficacious in delaying judgment and harassing the opposite side. However vexatious the suit, St. Hugh would never avail himself of this pretext, though the law itself justified it, "for fear he might seem to have incurred even the appearance of falsehood." —[ED.]

care. Nothing shall be wrested from us during our lifetime." The event justified his words, and the village in question remained for the present in the possession of the diocese of Lincoln. But as soon as St. Hugh was dead, the Earl of Leicester renewed his unjust claims, and, in 1204, succeeded in obtaining the object of his desire. But he did not long enjoy his triumph. Very soon afterwards he was struck with leprosy, and died without leaving any children.[1]

King John paid no attention to the warning, and his rebellion against Innocent III. soon involved the country in the evil prophesied by St. Hugh. When his miserable reign came to an end, and the young King Henry III., his son and successor, had been reconciled with the Holy See, England had at last time to interest herself once more in matters of piety. Two important events gave occasion to the reigning Pope to manifest by Apostolical Bulls, his kindly feeling towards the English people. One of these was the translation of the relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the other was the canonization of St. Hugh of Lincoln.

In 1219, at the request of the young King and the

[1] *Magna Vita*, bk. v. ch. 2, p. 234. Cf. Mr. Dimock's Preface, p. lxi. and Hoveden, iv. 156. This Robert came of a most devout stock. His grandfather and grandmother, separating by mutual consent, both embraced a monastic life, his father, Robert Blanchmains (of the white hands), died upon a Crusade, having been a conspicuous benefactor to many religious foundations. His mother, Petronilla, an heiress from whom he derived his name of Fitz-Parnell, built the nave of the Abbey Church of Leicester, in which she was buried, and in her later years, cutting off all her hair, she wove from it the cord by which a lamp was to be suspended in the choir of the Abbey Church. (Knighton's *Chronicon*, p. 64.) We may conjecture that this lamp was intended to do honour to the Blessed Sacrament, for this, like the observance of the Sunday, was one of the practices advocated in the preaching of Eustace, Abbot of Fleay, who made such a sensation in England in the years 1200, 1201. There was another son of the Lady Petronilla besides Robert the Earl and Roger the Bishop. This was William, who seems to have been a leper from his youth. He founded a great leper hospital at Leicester, dedicated to St. Leonard.—[ED.]

English Bishops,[1] Pope Honorius III. appointed three delegates to hold the usual court of inquiry, and collect evidence as to the virtues and miracles of the Saint. The Pontifical Letter appointing the commission was addressed to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Coventry, and to the Abbot of Fountains, belonging to the Cistercian Order. These were the three judges who had been selected by the Sovereign Pontiff, though the Bishop of Coventry seems for some reason to have excused himself from taking part in the proceedings. The opening and closing sentences of the letter are not without interest:

"Honorius, &c. to Stephen, &c. . . . We give thanks to the Author of all grace for what we have learned from your letters, and from those of our venerable brother the Archbishop of York, and all the other Bishops in England. Glory be to God, who has prevented by His grace, and loaded with His favours Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, of blessed memory. After working great wonders by means of His faithful servant during his lifetime, God continues to glorify him still in our own days by astounding miracles. To show us that his blessed soul is already in the enjoyment of eternal bliss, his body, enclosed in the tomb, manifests His power by every kind of marvel."

After referring to the requests made to the Holy See to inscribe St. Hugh's name in the catalogue of the Saints, the Pope goes on: "Although we firmly believe the numerous and imposing facts brought to our notice

[1] In the Cotton Roll two letters are preserved addressed to the Pope in behalf of the canonization of St. Hugh. The beginning of the first is unfortunately illegible, but it is probably that written by the Bishop of Lincoln, the second emanates from William St. Mère l'Eglise, the Bishop of London, of whose personal acquaintance with St. Hugh there has been mention in a former chapter. (See p. 315.) There is also given a letter to the Roman Cardinals from the Dean and canons of Lincoln Cathedral.—[ED.]

by the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, yet we desire to proceed with all the caution that is necessary in so important an affair. Therefore we confide the cause to your discretion by these our Apostolic Letters, and command you to make diligent inquiry regarding the life of the servant of God, the virtues he has practised, and the miracles attributed to him, both before and after his death; with any other circumstances deserving of notice. You will write to us a faithful account of all you may discover, in order that in the light of your report we may take such decision as appears most conformable to the holy will of God.

"Given at St. Peter's in Rome, on the 5th of the kalends of May, and the third year of our Pontificate."[1]

The investigation, as commanded by the Pope, was carried out with all reasonable precautions. The witnesses of the various miracles gave their testimony on oath, and they presented themselves in such numbers that it was impossible to take the evidence of all. If we may trust the rather inflated language of the *Vita Metrica*, the judges would admit nothing into their report but pure and unalloyed truth.[2]

At the end of a *Life of St. Hugh*, which was written by Stephen of Longothona, Archdeacon of Lincoln, we read:[3] "Then the said judges, to wit, the venerable

[1] Raynald, *Annales Ecclesiast.* vol. xx. p. 419.

[2] "Sed nihil est intertextum de stamine falsi." (*Vita Metrica*, v. 1245.)

[3] I have retained this passage in the modern French Life as a rather curious illustration of the evolution of a literary myth. The words cited are really taken from the epilogue to a *Legenda Sancti Hugonis*, which seems to have been current in many MSS. The miracles of which the *Legenda* is largely made up, have been extracted, with certain omissions, from the report of the Papal Commissioners, and as Cardinal Stephen Langton was the head of that commission, the *Legenda*, which includes a brief sketch of the life, came to be entitled in some copies, "Vita S. Hugonis episcopi Lincolniensis, edita a Domino Stephano de Longothona, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo." On the other hand, some writers, in describing the author of the *Magna Vita*, have inferred, from his official relations

Lord Stephen of Canterbury, whose learning and virtue are renowned throughout the world, and that prudent person, John, Abbot of Fountains, and now Bishop of Ely, having ascertained the truth of all the reported miracles, as well as the holy life and estimable conduct of the man of God, sent a faithful account of all to our Lord the Pope. After observing all the formalities prescribed by the Holy Roman Church on such occasions, the holiness of the servant of God being acknowledged by all, and the miracles worked by him being proved beyond a doubt, our Holy Father the Pope, with the approbation of all the Cardinals and the Bishops in communion with the Holy See, inscribed the name of Hugh of Lincoln upon the catalogue of Saints, by a decision which is not of earth, but of Heaven."

The Bull of Canonization was signed by Honorius III. at Viterbo, on February 17th, 1220, and it was accompanied by one or two other documents addressed to those specially interested in the cause.[1]

There is nothing particularly striking in these various

with St. Hugh, that he must have been his archdeacon, and consequently Archdeacon of Lincoln. Then the Carthusian annalist, Bohicius, strikes in. Finding mention in Sutor of a Life of St. Hugh by the Archdeacon of Lincoln, and perceiving that Langton himself could not have written the passage cited, he conjectured that this must be an extract from the archdeacon. But later writers, like Dorlandus, or his editor, Petræus, have misunderstood Bohicius, and not observing the identity of Langton and Longothona, have evolved a purely mythical Stephen de Longothona, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and have attributed to him a Life of St. Hugh, supposed to be now no longer in existence. The passage cited above is printed in Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 75; in Giraldus, *Opera*, vol. vii. p. 186. (Cf. *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. iii. in the *Catal. Cod. Hag. Brux.* p. 189, from a Brussels MS., and also Sutor, *De Vita Cartusiana*, Cologne, 1609, p. 545.)—[ED.]

[1] Dom le Couteulx, *Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iii. p. 451. The Pontifical decree was received in England on the 8th of March, 1220, and on the same day John, Abbot of Fountains, was consecrated Bishop of Ely. (Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglic.* bk. iii. ad an. 1220.)

Papal Letters, and it would only enlarge needlessly the bulk of this volume to insert the text or translation of them here. A few sentences, however, of the Bull addressed by the Pope to the Bishop and Chapter of Lincoln on this occasion deserve special notice, as they seem to have suggested the publication of just such an account of St. Hugh as was undertaken about this time by Giraldus Cambrensis, or as is found in the *Legenda Sancti Hugonis*, printed by Mr. Dimock in the same volume. Referring to the miracles, the Pope says: "And since, on account of their multitude, these cannot compendiously be narrated here, we have thought it better to introduce none of them into the present document, thinking it better to leave his glorious history as a whole to be written in books,[1] than by pledging our authority to some few of them, to seem, in reciting these, to withhold that authority in some sense from the rest. These miracles, sent us under seal by the Commissioners whom we appointed for the purpose, have been submitted to the scrutiny of our venerable brother Peter, the Bishop of Salinæ, and we have caused them to be solemnly read aloud in one of our public audiences.[2] And since we clearly perceived that both holiness of life and the power of signs combined to lend support to the petition which has been addressed to us, acting upon a judgment which is alike that of God and man, and trusting in the Divine Mercy and the merits of the Saint, with the concurrence of our brethren and

[1] "Melius æstimantes scripturæ gloriosam ejus historiam universam relinquere." Both this allusion, and the close verbal resemblance between the *Legenda* and the report of the Commissioners, make it probable that the *Legenda* had a quasi-official character, and it may quite possibly have been prepared under the direction of Cardinal Langton.—[ED.]

[2] "In auditorio nostro fecimus solemniter recitari." I am not clear whether this means that the account was read before some Consistory, if one may use such a word at this period, or only privately in the Pope's hearing.—[ED.]

of the Bishops who were summoned in council to this Apostolic See, we have decided to enrol him in the catalogue of the Saints; determining that his festival shall be devoutly celebrated each year on the day of his deposition."[1]

It is remarkable that the Bull makes no mention of the fact of St. Hugh being a Carthusian. Honorius III. was a great friend and protector of the sons of St. Bruno, but he knew that it would please them best to leave their names in the obscurity they had themselves chosen. They had taken no steps to solicit the canonization of their saintly brother in the name of the Order, and we shall not be astonished at this apparent indifference when we remember that four centuries were to elapse before even their great founder, St. Bruno, should be raised to the altars of the Church.[2]

But although they abstained from any collective action in promoting the cause, the sons of St. Bruno did not rejoice any the less at the canonization of their brother. From that day they celebrated his feast with a solemnity which has grown in time by successive enactments, so that now St. Hugh of Lincoln holds a place which is second only to that of St. Bruno himself among the canonized Saints of the Order.[3]

[1] The day of deposition is assumed to be the twenty-four hours following the death. In southern climes death and interment often took place on the same day. As already mentioned, St. Hugh died on the evening of November 16th, but his feast is kept on November 17th. This Bull, printed by Mr. Dimock in vol. vii. of Giraldus, from the Brownlow MS., is also contained in the Cotton Roll.—[ED.]

[2] The sobriety of the Carthusians in pressing the claims of their *Beati* is further illustrated by the fact that even for St. Hugh they were content to use the Common of Confessors and Bishops without any proper Office. Indeed, the only liturgical remains of any sort connected with St. Hugh seem to be those printed by Mr. C. Wordsworth in his *Tracts of Clement Maidstone*. The Sequence for St. Hugh's translation feast (October 6th), taken by Mr. Wordsworth from MS. Addit. 11,414, will be given in an Appendix.—[ED.]

[3] The Office of St. Hugh had at first only three Lessons; in 1258, nine

It is customary on that day, as on all great feasts, for a sermon to be preached in chapter in honour of the holy Bishop, and the finest orators of the Order have in turn performed this duty, beginning with the famous Denis the Carthusian. We have been fortunate in finding a precedent for all these panegyrics in a letter written in 1250 by Hugh II., General of the Carthusian Order, to the Blessed Boniface of Savoy, formerly a novice at the Grande Chartreuse, and then Archbishop of Canterbury. In this letter two models are proposed to the Primate for his imitation, one is St. Edmund, his predecessor, who died in 1240, the other is St. Hugh of Lincoln. These are the words:

"May the Holy Spirit of God, which bloweth where it listeth, inspire your excellent heart with a desire to imitate St. Edmund, whom the great miracles wrought by him, and the post you now occupy, must continually recall to your memory; and also St. Hugh of Lincoln. These two great Saints were of our own Order, as you know, and in the midst of their episcopal honour and dignity they knew how to change the pride of this world into humility, luxury into sobriety, and riches into poverty, thus remaining constantly faithful to their profession as monks of the Charterhouse."[1]

were added, making the twelve; in 1333, the feast was celebrated at the Grande Chartreuse as a chapter feast; six years after, it became a solemnity *cum candelis* for the whole Order; and finally, in 1508, it was decided that the lay-brothers were to rest from servile work on the feast of St. Hugh. (Dom le Couteulx, *Ann. Ord. Cart.* vol. iii. p. 452.)

[1] Prior Hugh must almost certainly be mistaken in claiming St. Edmund as a Carthusian. He was probably misled by some vague recollection of his retirement to the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny. Dom Le Couteulx (*Annales*, vol. iv. p. 79) suggests that St. Edmund may have been admitted after his resignation of the archbishopric. But this does not make the difficulties less, for the letter obviously supposes that Edmund was a Carthusian *before* his episcopate, and the few months which intervened between his resignation and his death at Pontigny are already fully accounted for. (See Dom Wallace, *Life of St. Edmund*, ch. 24 The story seems unknown to Dom Wallace.)—[ED.]

## Note to Book IV. Chapter IX.

The question of miracles is a very difficult one; far too difficult to be adequately discussed here. It may readily be admitted that the sudden cure of a quinsy, the restoration of a lunatic to his sound mind, the recovery by a paralytic of the use of his limbs, do not necessarily transcend the operation of natural causes. Be it only remarked that several of the miracles recorded of our Blessed Lord in the Gospels are equally susceptible of a rationalistic explanation, though, being wrought at the command of Him who raised the dead to life, it seems simpler to regard all indifferently as manifestations of His preternatural power. I am inclined to adopt a somewhat similar attitude towards the miracles of the saints in general and of St. Hugh in particular, adding only a word of explanation, which, though needless for Catholics, may be acceptable to my non-Catholic readers.

Roughly speaking, the cures effected at the tomb of St. Hugh and at other holy shrines may be divided into three classes. In the first place there are those in which any colour of the preternatural which the incident possesses is supplied by coincidence alone. The sudden relief of a quinsy caused by the bursting of the abscess which a short time before seemed on the point of suffocating the patient, may be startling enough, but the only thing marvellous about it is that the crisis should perhaps take place just at the moment that special prayer is made, or a relic applied to the affected part. Obviously the value of such a coincidence as evidence of the preternatural is in many cases extremely slight.

Secondly, there is the class of cures which admittedly transcend the powers of any causation in the natural order with which we are acquainted. Such instances

are the raising of a dead person to life, the sudden healing of a cancer, the restoration of an organ or of an amputated limb. Naturally, when miracles of this order are adduced, the discussion will almost invariably turn upon the authenticity of the facts. Was the child really dead? Was the disorder (say in the cure of blindness) organic or only functional? Can we be sure that the alleged cancer was really malignant, and completely and suddenly healed? It follows that the evidence in such cases will be very differently judged in accordance with the previous convictions of the critic. Those who are absolutely persuaded of the impossibility of miracles will always find the evidence too weak to establish such a conclusion, even though in any other matter they would be perfectly satisfied of its cogency, and would not hesitate, if similar evidence were adduced in a criminal trial, to pass sentence of death upon the prisoner against whom it was brought. Without wishing to discuss the point whether this attitude of mind is or is not logical, I will only say that in the very analogous field of the phenomena investigated by the Society for Psychical Research, the principle seems daily to be more generally and widely accepted that the investigation of facts must precede the formulating of conclusions. No man has a right to declare himself immovably certain that such and such things cannot happen merely because they have not fallen within his experience or that of his immediate friends.

There remains the largest class of events reputed miraculous, a class which is intermediate between the two previously spoken of. With regard to the great bulk of the cures which are effected at Lourdes and elsewhere in our own day, or of those recorded in mediæval chronicles, a great change has taken place in the opinion of non-Catholics during the last twenty

years. Formerly the facts were commonly denied, now they are as commonly admitted. But this does not mean that they are accepted in their preternatural character. The theory at present in possession explains them as "faith-cures." The influence of the mind on the physical state of the body has long been admitted in the vague, but modern scientists are prepared to go much further than their forefathers in attributing the most extraordinary powers to suggestion, expectant attention, and other more or less abnormal conditions of man's supersensitive nature. That paralysis and some other affections which are generally recognized as hysterical in their origin may be healed suddenly by the action of the mind on the body has been insisted on for some time, but we are now told by the highest medical authority that "tumours and ulcers of the most stubborn kind" are often due to the same cause, and under certain favourable conditions will equally yield to the faith-cure.[1] I have no intention here of discussing this theory, which is obviously a question for medical experts. But this much seems to be clear from a perusal of the evidence adduced on one side and the other, that even if for argument's sake we admit that faith-cures may be identical in kind with some of the miracles recorded in the Gospel, or with those approved in a process of canonization, they certainly differ prodigiously in degree. Nothing seems to me more striking than the limitations of those faith-cures, which are, if the phrase may be allowed, artificially induced by Professor Charcot and his associates. The cures of Catholic miracles are in numberless instances complete, permanent, and instantaneous. The faith-cures are partial, temporary, and gradual. The signs wrought by Moses and Aaron did not more completely transcend those

[1] See, *e.g.*, an article by the late Professor Charcot, of the Salpêtrière, in the *New Review*, January, 1893.

of Pharao's magicians than the miracles of Lourdes surpass those of the Paris hospitals. If the Salpêtrière physicians would take an hysterical patient with an ulcer of many years' standing, persuade her she was about to be cured, and then at the psychological moment remove the bandage and show the ulcer healed, there would be a real parallel to Catholic miracles.[1] But they are very far from this. The vindication of the faith-cure is constructive and inferential, not based upon one clear, tangible instance, but pieced together out of many. Such and such cases of ulcers, we are told, point to an hysterical origin, such and such other cases show that a particular form of club-foot or paralysis is equally of hysterical origin; these and other cases of paralysis have been known to be suddenly cured; therefore an obstinate ulcer may also be suddenly cured. But no doctor, even with all the resources of hypnotic suggestion at his command, pretends to have actually cured such an ulcer suddenly. The subject is too difficult to be discussed adequately here, but I would urge that our Lord's promises to ardent faith seem to point to some sort of necessary causation in the psychic or moral order, *preternatural* at least in the sense that it overrides physical laws, and that these promises find their adequate realization in Catholic miracles and in Catholic miracles alone. He has given to His faithful the pass-word, and to them the door opens freely and spontaneously. It may be that this higher causation acts only along certain lines, but we cannot fathom the mysteries of His wisdom to know why miracles for the

[1] The same striking contrast is perceptible if one compares the "levitation" of such a man as the spiritualist Home with the extraordinary prodigies of the same kind recorded of St. Joseph of Cupertino. Still, a sober critic like Mr. Andrew Lang, though he treats the experiences of the Saint somewhat more jocosely than a Catholic would do, evidently accepts the accounts of his aerial flights as authentic in substance. (See Mr. Lang's *Cock Lane and Common Sense.*)

most part should be confined to certain classes of disorders, in which they are to some extent facilitated by the potential capacities of natural causes. On the other hand, the artificial faith-cures are like the clumsy efforts of one who may have apprehended something of a secret, but who is hampered and baffled at every turn as though he were trying to use an implement in a way in which it was never designed to be used. In any case, explain it as we may, the contrast in the results is sufficiently striking.— [Ed.]

## CHAPTER X.

### *TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS OF ST. HUGH. THE CHARTERHOUSE OF ST. HUGH AT PARKMINSTER.*

On the 6th of October, 1280, the solemn translation of the relics of St. Hugh took place in Lincoln Cathedral. The King of England, Edward I., his Queen, Eleanor of Castile,[1] the Queen of Navarre, four earls, the Countess of Lincoln, and many barons and knights, were present, as well as an immense throng of persons of all ranks; eleven Bishops and many abbots taking part in the ceremony.

The officiants were John, Archbishop of Canterbury,[2]

[1] Ten years later Queen Eleanor breathed her last only a few miles away from Lincoln. The first of the crosses which were erected to mark the route of her funeral procession was set up in Lincoln, the last still perpetuates her memory in the name Charing Cross. The body had been embalmed and the viscera were interred "beside the altar of St. John the Baptist." There the inscription still stood in the time of Bishop Sanderson. + Hic : Sunt : Sepulta : Vicera (*sic*) : Alianore : Quondam : Regine : Anglie : Uxoris : Regis : Eduardi : Filii : Regis : Henrici : Cujus: Anime : Propitietur : Deus : Amen : + : Pater Noster : This inscription found at "the middle of the three east chapels" shows clearly, if proof were needed, that St. John the Baptist's chapel in this Cathedral occupied the central position at the eastern extremity of the church, usually assigned to the Lady chapel. (Cf. *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, vol. ii. pp. lxx. and 894.)—[Ed.]

[2] This was the holy Franciscan, John Peckham, who has left many theological writings and spiritual poems, which deserve to be more widely known than they are. We have a very interesting letter addressed by him, on the occasion of this visit to Lincoln, to the Prior and convent of Canterbury, couched in the most affectionate terms, and asking their consent to his consecrating at Lincoln the Bishop-elect of St. David's. He

and Oliver, Bishop of Lincoln, assisted by the canons of the Cathedral.

"All those present had previously prepared themselves, by prayer and fasting, for participating in this work of piety. Then, when the time came which had seemed most fitting for the purpose—this was at night, after the Office of Matins—the prelates and clergy approached the marble tomb where the body of the holy prelate lay, and although it had been deposited there for well-nigh eighty years, it was found incorrupt and almost unchanged. As soon as the Archbishop laid his hand on the glorious head of the Saint, it separated from the shoulders, leaving the neck fresh and red, just as if death had been recent. Many of those present considered this separation to be miraculous, because the magnificent reliquary which had been prepared to receive the sacred remains was not long enough to have contained both head and body together. For this reason the head of the Saint, enclosed in an elegant reliquary of gold, is now separately exposed for the veneration of the faithful.[1]

"Under the body thus found entire, bands of fair white linen were then passed in three different places,

tells them that he had been longing to return to his Cathedral city, and to take up his abode among them, and that it had been his fixed intention to consecrate the new Bishop there at Canterbury. But now, he says, a sudden request has come from the King that he should go to Lincoln to assist at the translation of the body of St. Hugh, and consecrate the Bishop of St. David's on the same occasion. He declares that the King's wish in this matter cannot safely be disregarded, and he begs them to believe that the plan is none of his (Peckham's) making, but very contrary to his own wishes. A letter was addressed to the Prior and convent on the same occasion by King Edward I. himself, asking them to signify their consent to the Archbishop. (See *Registrum Epistolarum*, J. Peckham, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 392, i. Appendix.)—[ED.]

[1] This was the case with several other English saints, notably with St. Richard of Chichester and St. William of York.—[ED.]

and it was in this way reverently lifted out and placed in the elaborately wrought receptacle which had been provided for that purpose. None were allowed in this removal to touch the sacred remains but such as by true contrition and confession, and after due satisfaction made or promised, had cleansed their souls from the stain of sin.

"Afterwards, singing hymns and canticles, the clergy carried the remains into the vestry of the Cathedral. There the venerable head also was carefully washed and dried, and both were left in safe keeping until the morning. In the tomb where the Saint's body had rested there was found a great quantity of pure oil. The monastic habit which he used in life, and with which he had been buried, was also found in perfect preservation.

"On the following morning the same Bishops and canons returned to the place where the holy body had been left, and prepared to conclude the solemn office of the translation. In the course of the ceremony it happened that the Bishop of Lincoln took up the head of St. Hugh, and held it for a while reverently before him. As he did this, an abundance of the same pure oil flowed from the jaw over the Bishop's hands, and this notwithstanding that the venerable head had been carefully washed a few hours before, and had been found quite dry in the morning. The oil only ceased to flow when the Bishop had placed his precious burden upon the silver dish upon which this relic was to be carried through the crowd.

"A solemn procession was then formed, as the custom of the Church prescribes for such occasions. The crowd of clergy and laity was enormous. The Archbishop of Canterbury carried the Saint's head on a silver dish. The holy body was borne immediately behind, and then the procession made its way through

the church to the place where stood the shrine, richly adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, in which the sacred remains were to be deposited. The shrine itself was then raised upon a pedestal of marble, elegantly carved and of convenient height, and was firmly secured and riveted to its stone support. Similarly, the said Bishop of Lincoln and his canons had the head encased in a coffer of gold, silver, and precious stones, and this they placed close beside the altar of St. John the Baptist in the same church, not far from the shrine just referred to. It is in this holy spot that both the head and the body are venerated, and priests and people come to implore the mercy of God, through the intercession of His faithful servant."

It is further mentioned that the Bishop of Lincoln and his Chapter then decreed that the feast of the Translation of the Relics of St. Hugh should be kept every year, both in the Cathedral and throughout the diocese, and that Thomas Beck, Bishop-elect of St. David's, received episcopal consecration on the same day, and defrayed the expenses of a most sumptuous banquet in honour of the Saint. The author of this account, who appears to have been a contemporary and an eye-witness,[1] speaks enthusiastically of the good results to be obtained by honouring the relics of the Saints. It is only fitting, he says, that the Church Militant on earth should imitate here below the tribute of glory paid to the Blessed by the Church Triumphant in Heaven. And what is more, the faithful are attracted to God's house by the splendour of such ceremonies or by the illumination which surrounds these gorgeous shrines, and they are thereby confirmed in believing and practising the creed of those whose

[1] As to this see the note at the end of the chapter.—[ED.]

mortal remains even in this world God has so gloriously honoured.[1]

It is presumably for this reason that the enemies of the Catholic faith have always set their faces so strongly against any veneration of the relics of the Saints. We can hardly feel much respect for the motives as such a man as Henry VIII., who under the guise of a righteous indignation against superstitious practices, was not ashamed to perpetrate a whole series of acts of brigandage and profanation, of which the desecration of the relics of St. Hugh was amongst the latest in time, and amongst the most profitable to the Treasury. It is sad to have to record that the mortal remains of our Saint were first profaned by vulgar thieves, and then rescued from their sacrilegious grasp only to fall into the clutches of a royal freebooter still more impious, a century or so later. Of the earlier episode a word may be said before we bring our history to a close.

It would seem that in the year 1364[2] a large part of England was overrun by a band of robbers who set the law at defiance, pillaging the churches, violating the tombs, and profaning the relics of the Saints. Coming to Lincoln, they somehow succeeded in carrying off the head of St. Hugh, with its precious reliquary. The gold, the silver, and the precious stones, they kept and divided among themselves, but the venerable head they threw away in a field. According to the account

[1] *Magna Vita*, Appendix; Dom le Couteulx (*Ann. Ord. Cartus.* vol. iv. p. 339). The more famous brother of Thomas Beck, Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, performed an exactly similar service for St. William of York when the body of this holy Archbishop was translated a very few years later, he himself on that day being consecrated to the see of Durham. (See Dimock, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. vii. p. 220.)—[ED.]

[2] It should be remembered that this took place when the country was in a most unsettled state. It had not yet recovered from the effects of the Black Death and of the French Wars. The growth of Lollardry is largely attributable to the same cause.—[ED.]

given by the chroniclers, a raven came and perched beside the relic, never quitting it until it was recognized and taken back to the Cathedral.[1] The thieves did not go long unpunished. They sold their sacrilegious booty in London for the sum of twenty marks, and returned to their own country. But they themselves were robbed on the way, and, struck with remorse, they gave themselves up to justice, were found guilty on their own confession, and finally hanged at Lincoln.[2]

In the sixteenth century, the tyrant of the Reformation emulated and outstripped this act of sacrilegious brigandage. The record of his more grievous atrocities begins with a persecution, in which eighteen Carthusian monks, with their Prior, Blessed John Houghton, of the London Charterhouse, at their head, perished after cruel and long-protracted suffering.[3] Their sole crime was that they affirmed their fidelity to the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, and refused to submit their conscience to the will of the King. St. Hugh, who had set them an example of this noble resistance to royal tyranny, was worthy to share with them the hatred of their persecutor. His shrine was pillaged,[4] and his relics were scattered to the four winds, like those of

[1] This is not quite accurate. We know from contemporary records that the head of St. Hugh was not immediately restored to the Cathedral. See Precentor Venables' paper on the "Shrine and Head of St. Hugh of Lincoln," in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. l. I may refer the reader to the same article for many interesting details about the offerings made at the shrine down to the time of the Reformation.—[ED.]

[2] Henry of Knighton, *Chronicon*, vol. ii. p. 120.

[3] Blessed John Houghton was martyred in 1535, with two other Priors of his Order, shortly before the execution of Blessed John Fisher and Blessed Thomas More. (See *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum, maxime octodecim Cartusianorum*, a V. P. D. Mauritio Chauncy conscripta. See also *The London Charterhouse; its Monks and its Martyrs.* By Dom Laurence Hendriks, monk of St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Sussex. London: Kegan Paul, 1889.)

[4] On this subject a few further details will be found in the note at the end of this chapter.—[ED.]

St. Thomas of Canterbury.[1] But in St. Hugh's case the incredible mockery of a trial was not gone through as in the case of the Martyr of Canterbury, and his name was allowed to remain in the Anglican Calendar,[2] in which it is inscribed to this day. In spite of all the calumnies invented by the English Reformers against the Church of the middle ages and its Bishops, St. Hugh has always been honoured as one of the glories of England; his memory is held in veneration even by those who do not share his faith; and the history of his life has been written by Anglican clergymen, who, notwithstanding their prejudices, have offered to the holy Bishop a tribute of generous praise.

Outside England, the veneration of St. Hugh of Lincoln is especially cultivated in the religious houses of Carthusian monks and nuns; and, as we have already said, he holds a place that is second only to that of St. Bruno, with whom he is frequently associated in art and in story both in the houses of the Order and elsewhere. It must be remembered, however, that St. Hugh of Grenoble occasionally shares this honour with his namesake of Lincoln, and we may quote, as an instance of this, a vision which is said to have consoled the last moments of the Carthusian nun, St. Roseline.

Feeling that her end was approaching, this servant of God bade farewell to her Sisters in Religion, and only kept near her Sister Margaret of Villeneuve-Trans,

[1] All the relics of St. Hugh are not absolutely lost. The Grande Chartreuse possesses a fragment of bone, and a stole which the Saint wore. We do not know at what period these treasures were sent to the monastery.

[2] It can hardly be said that the name of St. Hugh has *remained* in the Anglican Calendar. It is not to be found in the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, and 1559, but it was restored in that of 1604. The name of St. Thomas has never been restored.—[ED.]

her niece, who was a witness of the favour granted in her last moments. St. Bruno, St. Hugh of Grenoble, and St. Hugh of Lincoln, clothed in the habit of the Order, entered the cell of the dying nun. After them, came the Mother of God, carrying the Infant Jesus in her arms. In obedience to a command from her, "the Bishop of Lincoln incensed the cell and the bed of the holy nun. The devil was then allowed to present himself and say if there was anything of which he could accuse Sister Roseline. He was obliged to confess that he had nothing to reproach her with except that, on one occasion, she had neglected to take the rest which is prescribed by the Rule, after Sext, during the summer. Then the Mother of God intimated that they should proceed to escort the holy virgin of Christ into the presence of her Heavenly Spouse. Whereupon the dying nun was heard to utter the words: '*Deo gratias!*' and immediately expired."[1]

St. Hugh of Lincoln is also associated with St. Hugh of Grenoble, in the diocese of which the latter was Bishop, and the former a most distinguished son and subject. The clergy of Grenoble continue to celebrate the feast of both, but naturally award the higher honour to their own pastor.

Notwithstanding the severe custom of the Carthusians, who rarely attempt to spread the devotion to their own saints outside the walls of the cloister, there are other dioceses beside Grenoble in which devotion to the Saint of Lincoln is not unknown. Dom Peter Sutor tells us that in the Paris Charterhouse there was a picture of St. Hugh, to which pilgrimages were made, especially by mothers whose children were ill. Even in the sixteenth century, many miraculous cures proved

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, June 11th, p. 491; *Life of St. Roseline*, by an anonymous Franciscan author.

that the Saint had nor forgotten his love for the little ones.[1] But to us one of the most interesting monuments which have ever been erected to the memory of the holy Bishop, is the modern Carthusian monastery at Parkminster in the south of England, not far from Brighton. It is called the Charterhouse of St. Hugh of Lincoln.[2] We have no intention of giving a description of this monastery, which is of so recent a date, but it may be useful to say a few words of some of the memories which it recalls, and of the hopes which it awakens.

Let us suppose that the Carthusian monastery of Witham had been preserved continuously from the time of St. Hugh, and that the Rule of the Order was still observed there now as it was in the twelfth century. Would it not be a perpetual and living memorial of the great Bishop of Lincoln, and not only of him, but of Catholic England, when she was still the home of Religious Orders, the Island of Saints? Should we not be able to find there a faithful reproduction of the beliefs of the middle ages, and to compare them with the actual teaching of the Church at the present day? Would not many of the prejudices of our most inveterate opponents be dissipated by a visit to that authentic monument of the past?

Now, the Charterhouse of St. Hugh at Parkminster does actually reproduce before our eyes the daily life of the Charterhouse at Witham, and of all the other

[1] Sutor, *De Vita Cartusiana*, bk. ii. tr. iii. ch. v. On account of the number of these little invalids, the monks were obliged to change the place of the picture of St. Hugh. It had been at first behind the high altar, over an altar dedicated to the Saint. It was then removed into the nave, and afterwards into the chapel reserved for ladies, which was outside the cloister. It was especially children attacked by consumption who were recomended to the charitable power of the Saint by popular piety. (See *L'Histoire Monumental de la Chartreuse de Paris*, par P. de la Croix, 1867.)

[2] The first stone of this monastery was laid in 1876, and the work was finished in 1882. The church was consecrated by the Right Reverend Dr. Coffin, Bishop of Southwark, on the 10th of May, 1883.

Carthusian monasteries in England, which were founded after his death. The same Rule, identical in almost every detail, is practised there now, as in the middle ages, and the Liturgy, which is the soul of the cloister, preserves the same character of antique simplicity in a way which forces itself upon the attention of the least observant visitor. And if the spectacle presented by the Carthusians of our own day is compared with that which met the eye of St. Hugh and his contemporaries, as we have described it in the course of our narrative, two conclusions may be drawn.

One is that amongst the Carthusians of the twelfth century, all the characteristic features were to be found which mark the Catholic Church of our own day. The Holy Mass was offered up then as now; the Blessed Virgin was honoured with a special devotion then as now; prayers for the departed were said, and the seven sacraments, especially those of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, were administered then as now. The fact indeed is that the teaching and practices of the Christian faith then were those of all time, those bequeathed to mankind by the Divine Founder of the Church, and firmly built upon the indefectible authority of the See of Peter.

The second conclusion is this. In the twelfth century, as in our own day, it was quite possible for this teaching and these practices to exist without their leading to superstition or a low standard of morals. On the contrary, the Christianity of those days inspired the practice of exalted virtue, it gave birth to a most austere rule of life, it fostered chastity, mortification, forgetfulness of self, the spirit of prayer and self-immolation, and a constant interior reformation, according to the maxims of the Gospel—a very different reformation, it may be remarked, from that of the sixteenth century Reformers.

One of the most consoling facts in the history of the Church in our own time is the religious movement, which by slow degrees seems to be bringing England back to Catholicism. It is not without reason that this happy result has been attributed in part to the example and prayers of the exiled French clergy, who were hospitably welcomed by England at the time of the French Revolution, and also to the vivifying influence of the Religious Orders, which during this century have begun to settle there even as of old. Amongst the rest the Carthusians, notwithstanding their small number and the strictness of their enclosure, have contributed something to that Catholic revival which is making such rapid progress. The impression made by the life of the disciples of St. Bruno is attested by more than one significant fact. It is wonderful how deep an emotion seems to take possession of many of the non-Catholic visitors who come to the Charterhouse of St. Hugh. We have seen Anglican clergymen burst into tears upon saying farewell; we have seen them kneel down before the venerable Prior to ask his blessing and his prayers. May the great Saint of Lincoln and the Carthusian Martyrs of England, obtain both for them and for the monks and brothers who follow the Rule of St. Bruno, the grace expressed in the Collect of St. Hugh's feast: *Ejus exempla nos provocent, et virtutes illustrent*—"May his example spur us forward, and may his virtues enlighten our path."[1]

[1] This is the prayer, as it is found in the Carthusian Missal and Breviary, for the 17th of November: "Deus, qui beatum Hugonem, Confessorem tuum, atque Pontificem, eminentia meritorum et claritate signorum excellenter ornasti, concede propitius, ut ejus exempla nos provocent, et virtutes illustrent. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen." [This is the prayer of the old Sarum Missal, and it is still used in England and wherever St. Hugh's feast is celebrated.—ED.]

## Note to Book IV. Chapter X.

The account of the translation of the body of St. Hugh, which has been followed at the beginning of this chapter, does not find favour with Mr. Dimock or Precentor Venables.[1] They imply that it was written long after the event, and that its details are fictitious. To me, on the other hand, it has every appearance of being an authentic and reliable document, either drawn up by an eye-witness or based on contemporary memoranda. To adduce positive arguments in its favour beyond its general character and tone, is of course not easy, but the objections raised against it by Mr. Dimock all disappear upon closer investigation.

1. Mr. Dimock contrasts a short paragraph, which he prints as "a contemporary account of the translation, probably written by some member or retainer of the Beck family," with the fuller narrative in Surius. The former, he says, "is of course far too simple and free from the marvellous for biographers of St. Hugh in later times." Mr. Dimock, not having seen the document upon which Surius' abridgment is based, is not aware that the Beck paragraph represents but a fragment of the longer account. It corresponds, though the details are different, to the last few sentences of the narrative referred to, which is printed entire in the *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*. If the mere presence of the marvellous affords so much ground for suspicion, Mr. Dimock ought to reject the whole account of the funeral in the *Magna Vita*, which records the flexibility

[1] Mr. Dimock does not seem (see Giraldus, *Opera*, vol. vii. p. 221) to have had before him the original text of the narrative of the translation, but only the adaptation in Surius and Dorlandus. The original text referred to is to be found printed in Dom Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vol. iv. p. 339, and in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. iii. p. 191. (*Catal. Cod. Brux.* vol. i. p. 191.) Precentor Venables simply echoes the remarks of Mr. Dimock. See *Archæological Journal*, vol. l. p. 41.—[Ed.]

of the limbs, and the rosy blush on the Saint's face, with many other marvels. Also the Beck paragraph does not mention the separation of the head from the body, which is surely a fact not to be disputed.

2. The account states that with the body of St. Hugh, the monk's habit which he had used in life was also found entire; on which Mr. Dimock remarks: "This is wrong. He was buried in the episcopal vestments in which he had been consecrated."[1] I must say that I look upon this detail as a point distinctly in favour of the authenticity of the narrative. No mediæval writer would have been ignorant that a Bishop was ordinarily buried in his vestments. But this is not in the least inconsistent with the supposition that he was buried in his religious habit as well. In fact we may be quite certain it was so. All through his illness he was clothed in the tunic and cowl of a Carthusian.[2] He would never consent to put them off, his chaplain tells us, even in the utmost violence of the fever. Is it likely that after death he would have been deprived of this beloved symbol of his profession as a monk? What is more, we know for certain that he was clothed in some garment beneath the episcopal vestments, for when the body was undressed and redressed at Lincoln, the chaplain, who performed this office, expressly remarks, that he saw the face and hands, but not the rest of the body. Lastly, an interesting parallel may be quoted in the case of the body of the Carthusian Bishop, St. Anthelmus, the same whose shrine was visited by St. Hugh just before his last illness.[3] In the *Vie de St. Anthelme*, by the Abbé Marchal, an account is given, founded on the sworn depositions of eye-witnesses, of the state in which the Saint's remains were found when they were violated on December 6th, 1793, during the French Revolution. "The chest," he

[1] P. 222. [2] *Magna Vita*, p. 338. [3] See above, pp. 486, seq.

says, "having been broken open, the body of the Saint appeared clothed in his pontifical robes. Underneath this a shroud enveloped the whole. This shroud was sealed in several places with red wax bearing the arms of Mgr. Cortois de Quincey.[1] The pontifical vestments were cut open by the mob, the seals broken, and the shroud torn to shreds. *A Carthusian habit clothed the body immediately.* This covering also was torn away, and the skeleton was fully exposed to view."[2]

3. Again, Mr. Dimock and Precentor Venables seem to speak very suspiciously of the fluid (oil it is called) found in the coffin and distilling from the head. But these writers themselves admit that the Peterborough Chronicle,[3] "written probably not later than 1295," *i.e.*, less than fifteen years after the translation, mentions the oil ("in cujus sepulchro inventa est olei quantitas non modica"). It may be noted also that among the items of an inventory of 1520, relating to the shrine of St. Hugh's head, we find the entry: "Item, oyle of seint hugh in birrall (beryl) closed with silver and gilt,"[4] and further, that the leaden coffin, when examined in 1887, was deeply stained. There are many instances on record of saints whose bodies distil oil after death. Among the Greeks a special name was given to this feature. They called such saints μυροβλύται.[5] Even among English saints there are some who have been so distinguished. Not to speak of St. Walburga, by birth an Englishwoman, we have both St. William of York and St. John of Beverley, and besides these, only a little time before

[1] The seals of course must have been affixed at some previous inspection of the remains and it is most likely that the body was then reclothed, but it is also in every way probable that in reclothing it they only copied what was originally found there.

[2] *Vie de St. Anthelme*, p. 284.

[3] Camden Society, Edit. Stapleton, p. 40.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. liii. p. 12.

[5] See Ducange, *Glossarium Græcitatis*, s.v. μύρον.

the date of the translation of St. Hugh, oil began to exude from the tomb of the famous Robert Grosseteste, one of St. Hugh's successors, by whose relics many miracles were worked.[1]

4. Lastly—and this is the point of greatest importance—the account states that St. Hugh's remains had rested undisturbed for eighty years, *i.e.*, since his burial in 1200, and that this consequently was the first translation. Mr. Dimock admits that he "knows of no actual evidence" for any previous translation, but he thinks it unlikely that the Papal injunction issued with the Bull of Canonization in 1220, and bidding the body be removed to a more honourable resting-place, can have been disregarded for so long.[2] Here again Mr. Dimock seems to me to take a very one-sided view of the evidence. If there really had been two translations, it would be a most extraordinary thing that in no sort of document, chronicle, calendar, cathedral custom-book or register, should there be found the slightest reference to this supposed first translation, though that of 1280 is alluded to frequently. Again, the natural time for such a translation, if it had taken place at all, would have been the occasion of the canonization; but we may take the silence both of the *Vita Metrica* and of the *Legenda* as strong evidence that nothing of the sort occurred then. Still more weighty is the positive statement of the document under discussion, the accuracy of which, as I have already pointed out, is

[1] "Inter quæ, tumba marmorea ejusdem viri Dei oleum purissimum repetitis vicibus, plurimis in ecclesia præsentibus, emanavit." (John de Schalby, in Grosseteste, p. 205.)

[2] There is nothing in any way exceptional in the translation being deferred until eighty years after death. Even the glorious St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was martyred in 1170, and canonized in 1173, was not translated until 1220, nearly fifty years afterwards. The relics of St. William of York, who died in 1154, remained underground until Anthony Beck, the brother of Thomas Beck, bore the expense of their translation, in 1283.

fully confirmed in other respects, that the remains had rested undisturbed for eighty years. And with this agrees the language both of the Peterborough Chronicle and of Rishanger. The Peterborough Chronicle, a record of high value, written less than sixteen years afterwards, mentions that "the body of St. Hugh was translated in the eightieth year after the deposition,"[1] a remark which would have little point if the remains had been previously translated in the interval; and Rishanger, in common with many other chroniclers of later date, remarks of the same occasion: "In this year the body of St. Hugh was translated to a more elevated position."[2] This phrase seems to describe with singular exactitude what Mr. Willson considers to have happened in 1280; namely, that the tomb of St. Hugh, in the foundations of the old apse, was then first opened, and the remains, after a day's interval, deposited anew above the pavement of the now completed Angel choir, in a spot almost vertically over the stone coffin with its inner case of lead, described in the *Magna Vita*, and brought to light *in situ* during the excavations of 1887.

As to the circumstances of the discovery of these most interesting memorials of our Saint, I cannot do better than quote the account given by Precentor Venables in vol. xliv. of the *Archæological Journal*.[3]

"In the course of our investigation it became necessary to violate the sanctity of the tomb in which, according to a post-Restoration inscription on a Renaissance monument erected in the retro-choir by Bishop Fuller, Bishop Sanderson's successor (1667—1675), the remains of St. Hugh were supposed to be reposing. The shrine of the Saint, to receive which the Angel

[1] "Die sanctæ Fidis Virginis translatum est corpus sancti Hugonis episcopi a die deposicionis ejus anno LXXX." (Chronic. Petroburg. p. 40.)

[2] "In locum eminentiorem." Cf. *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. iii. p. 145.

[3] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliv. pp. 201, 202.

choir was built, doubtless stood like all such shrines in the centre of the mid-alley at the back of the reredos. At the Reformation this shrine, in common with all 'monuments of superstition,' would be destroyed, and the remains of the Saint re-interred in some convenient spot near. The spot in this case, if we may trust Bishop Fuller's epitaph, was a little to the north of the site of the shrine, corresponding to the north-east angle of Hugh's hexagonal chapel. On this spot Fuller's pious care erected a black marble slab, supported on four Renaissance legs of an Ionic character, and inscribed with a set of elegiac verses of much elegance recording the fact. When the investigation reached this place, it became a matter of much interest to learn whether there was a grave there, and what it contained. On removing the marble memorial and opening the ground beneath it, a stone coffin was discovered, within which was another coffin of lead, rather rudely put together, and unsoldered. On opening this it proved to contain no human remains of any kind, not even a fragment of bone. There was nothing more than a decaying mass of linen and silken vestments, so arranged as roughly to simulate the shape of a human body. Microscopic and chemical investigation discovered threads of flax and silk, with some fine threads of gold, but nothing of an animal nature. It was evident from the stains on the sides of the leaden coffin that a corpse had once reposed in it. What had become of that corpse? And was it that of St. Hugh? Who could tell? Had it been scattered to the winds by the fiery zeal of some Puritan fanatic, or had it rather, as we would fain hope, been rescued from desecration by the pious care of some to whom the memory of one of the holiest of England's Saints, and the most intrepid of English patriots, was dear? Was it with Hugh of Avalon, as the story goes it was with

Cuthbert, of Durham, at the same great religious convulsion of the sixteenth century?

> 'His relics are in secret laid,
> But none may know the place
> Save of his holiest servants three,
> Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
> Who share that wondrous grace?'"

With regard to this rifling of the tomb of St. Hugh in the reign of Henry VIII., there is the most absolute lack of information. In the *Calendar of State Papers* of the year 1540, compiled by Mr. Gairdner, the editor has been able to add nothing to the very scanty facts already printed in Dugdale. We know that a commission was issued by the King on the 6th of June, 1540, to Dr. George Hennage, Archdeacon of Taunton, his brother, John Hennage, and others, bidding them dismantle the shrine, and couched in the following terms:

"For as moch as we understand that there ys a certayn shryne and diverse fayned Reliquyes and Juels in the Cathedrall church in Lyncoln, with whych all the simple people be moch deceaved and broughte into greate supersticion and Idolatrye, to the dyshonor of god and greate slander of thys realme and peryll of theire own soules,

"We let you wyt that we, beinge mynded to bringe our lovinge subjectes to the right knowledge of the truth by takinge away all occasions of Idolatrye and supersticion, for the especiall trust and confidence we have in your fydelytyes, wysdoms and discrecions, have, and by theis presentes doe, authorise, name, assign and appointe you fowre, or three of you, that immediatelye uppon the sighte hereof, repairinge to the sayd Cathedrall church and declaringe unto the Deane, Resydencyaryes and other mynisters thereof the cause of your comynge,

ye do take downe, as well the sayd shryne and supersticious reliquyes, as superfluouse Jueles, plate, copes and other suche like as you shall thinke by your wysdoms not mete to contynew and remayne there. . . . And to see the sayd reliquyes, Juels and plate safely and surely to be conveyde to owr towre of London in to owr Jewyll house there, chargeing the Master of owr Jewylls with the same. And further we wyll that you charge and commande in owr name the sayd Deane there to take downe such monumentes as may geve any occasion of memorye of such supersiticion and Idolatyre hereafter," &c.[1]

This commission, which contains no further reference to the shrine or its relics, was carried into effect five days afterwards, *i.e.*, on the 11th of June, 1540, as we learn from an endorsement of Thomas Cromwell's. We also possess a memorandum of the value of the booty carried off by the plunderers, which amounted to 2,621 ounces of gold and 4,215 ounces of silver, besides "a greate nombre" of pearls and precious stones of immense value. To this is further appended the following note:

"There were at that tyme twoe shrynes in the sayd Cath. churche, the one of pure gold, called St. Hughe's shryne, standinge on the backe syde of the highe aulter neare unto Dalyson's tombe, the place wyll easilye be knowen by the Irons[2] yet fastened in the pavement stones ther. The other, called St. John of Dalderby his shryne was of pure sylver, standing in the south

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. liii. p. 39.

[2] I am not quite certain, as Bishop Sanderson seems to have been more than a century later, that these "irons" were the clamps which secured the trellis round the shrine. As may be noticed from a MS. Life of St. Robert, contained in British Museum MS. Lansdowne 436, iron rings or hooks were commonly fixed in the floor in front of a shrine in order that lunatics and possessed people might be fastened to them when brought to the shrine to be healed.

end of the great crosse Ile, not farre from the dore where the Gallyley courte ys used to be kepte."

We know that the spoil reached the Tower in safety, for on June 26th, "a great amethyst, certain cameos or anticks which came from Lincoln Cathedral," as well as "27 old nobles and three small pieces of gold," were delivered to the King, from the Tower, for some special purpose of his own.[1] But with regard to the treatment of St. Hugh's body and the other relics, we hear not a single word. At York, St. William's remains undoubtedly escaped, at least in part, for it is stated in Brereton's *Travels* (of 1635): "In the chapel (in York Minster) wherein the Bishop is installed . . . there was a decayed monument of St. William, the residue of whose bones were taken by the sexton in 1633 and laid carefully up, and this, as he said, was done by the King's special command."[2] It is conceivable that the body of St. Hugh may also have escaped, but if it was ever hidden, we have not even the faintest tradition to guide us to the hiding-place.—[Ed.]

[1] Gairdner, *Calendar*, 1540, p. 382.

[2] Brereton, *Travels* (Chetham Society), p. 72. Sir William Brereton at a later date was one of the commanders in the Parliamentary army against the King.

## APPENDIX A.[1]

### *THE COMING OF THE CARTHUSIANS TO WITHAM.*

Some points of interest with regard to the settlement at Witham which have come to my knowledge too late to be inserted in their proper place, may be noticed here in an Appendix.

The first concerns the date of the foundation of the earliest English Charterhouse. Although the evidence alleged in the Note to Bk. i. Chap. 9, pp. 91, seq., is conclusive enough, still any possible doubt which might still remain must be set at rest by two entries, which I think have hitherto escaped attention, in the Norman Exchequer Rolls published by Stapleton. Both entries belong to the year 1180,[2]—the first records the expenditure of a sum of "twenty shillings, by warrant from the King, for the passage of the brethren of the Chartreuse to England and for that of Reginald, the King's clerk, who conducted them;" the other accounts for a sum of a hundred shillings spent by the King's warrant upon the living of the brethren of the Chartreuse while in Caen in Normandy.[3] There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that these entries refer, not to the coming of St. Hugh

[1] For the Appendices which follow the Editor alone is responsible. No attempt has been made to reproduce the Appendices in the French Carthusian Life.

[2] The roll itself was made at Caen in 1180, but it is just possible that the entries, or some of them, may refer to disbursements belonging to the previous year.

[3] Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, vol. i. : "In passagio fratrum de Cartosa et Reinaldi clerici regis qui eos duxit in Angliam, xx sol. per breve regis" (p. 37); and "Reinaldo clerico regis ad conredium fratrum de Certosa, c sol. per breve regis." (*ib.* p. 56.) There is an entry close by of 45 shillings paid for the passage of Reginald, James, Theodoric, and their companions, with fifty of the King's hounds.

with the Bishop of Bath, who could hardly have been styled *clericus regis*,[1] but to the conveyance of the first band of Carthusians who were sent originally with Dom Norbert to begin the new foundation. The sums paid seem to imply a tolerably large party, and seeing that the whole establishment can hardly have consisted of more than a dozen Religious in all, it is extremely unlikely that it represents merely a reinforcement of the original colony. We are forced then to conclude that St. Hugh's own arrival must be dated some months later than this—probably in the year 1181.

Still more interesting are the traces which have been preserved to us in contemporary records of the eviction of the original occupants of the manor of Witham in order to make way for the Carthusians.[2] The compensation which Henry II. was asked to provide was by no means a mere matter of form, nor were the inhabitants settled upon the manor so exclusively of the villein class as might at first sight be supposed. Two portions of the domain granted to the Carthusians were not the King's, but in private hands, held of an overlord by some certain defined service. The overlord was William de Malet, to whom shortly afterwards succeeded Henry de Newmarket. The two tenants were Geoffrey de Wandestrea and Gilbert de Norfolk. To these two tenants, whose land the King had given to the brethren of the Charterhouse (*fratribus de Chartuse*), Henry II. gave lands in the parish of North Curry, to the annual value of £7 and £8 respectively, to be held of the same overlord as before, on the same terms as the estate they had previously held in Witham.[3] What is still more interesting, we find in an abstract of a charter of Henry II. in the Wells MSS. the names of twenty-seven sub-tenants who held of Gilbert de Norfolk, and presumably tilled his lands, and who now,

[1] *Clericus regis* was the designation usually applied in the French court to the officials of the Chancery. Although there was no English Chancery in quite the same sense, there must have been clerks who discharged the same functions of drafting and transcribing charters and other documents. Cf. Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, pp. 531—533.

[2] See above, p. 95.

[3] See the printed copy of the Pipe Roll, 1 Richard I. p. 146, and especially the extremely valuable memorandum of Mr. E. H. Bates, discussing these facts, in *Somerset Notes and Queries*, March, 1897, p. 239.

transferring themselves, with their lord, from Witham to Knapp, in North Curry, a distance of over thirty miles, were provided with holdings on the same terms as those they occupied before.[1] Allowing an average of between four and five members to each family, this must have meant an exodus from Witham of about one hundred and twenty souls. Again, we may assume that when Geoffrey de Wandestrea transferred himself to his new estate at Stathe, another batch of sub-tenants, hardly less numerous, will have followed him. Without going further into details, it is sufficient to say that by very reasonable computations Mr. Bates, who may claim to speak with authority upon such matters, infers that, at the coming of the Carthusians, Witham had a population not far short of three hundred and eighty persons. That for a hamlet of this magnitude some sort of church or chapel would have been provided might be taken for granted, even if direct evidence were not forthcoming in a memorandum contained in the Chartulary of the Augustine Canons of Bruton, a monastery seven or eight miles off. The Canons of Bruton served the chapel at Witham, and had lands and tenements there, and, in return for their spiritual ministrations, they used to receive all the tithes of the manor, and had other rights and exemptions. On surrendering these, they also received compensation from Henry II., as is recorded in the memorandum referred to.[2]

This evidence seems to require that the statement made above[3] should be somewhat modified. It is still true that the present parish church of Witham served, during the three

[1] See *Calendar of Wells MSS.* p. 162, and Mr. Buckle's articles in *Somerset Notes and Queries*, vol. i. p. 129; vol. iv. pp. 2, seq.; pp. 50, seq.; and p. 76. The entry in the Wells *Liber Albus* is headed, "Carta Henrici senioris (*i.e.*, Henry II.) de terra de Cnappe data in escamb: (in exchange) pro terra de Whiteham quam illi de Charthous tenent."

[2] *Bruton Chartulary* (Somerset Record Society), p. 102. This has been already alluded to on p. 92, n., but I ought to have pointed out that the authority of this memorandum, apparently a late copy of some earlier document, is somewhat weakened by the fact that it names Baldwin as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1181. It is possible, however, that in the original only the initial letter of the name was indicated, and that the R (Richard) has been misread by the transcriber as a B.

[3] P. 102.

hundred and fifty years of the Carthusian occupation, as the chapel of the lay-brothers, but it is also probable that it is older than the time of St. Hugh, and that while he adapted the building for its new purpose, the foundations and walls are not his.

With regard to the first fact, it may be noted that to this day the Somersetshire folk round about speak of the "Vrary," and the official designation of the parish is not Witham, but *Witham Friary*. The name has puzzled some who are at pains to point out that the Carthusians are not friars, and that the friars were never settled at Witham. But the "Vrary" is evidently the house of those who were *par excellence* the "brothers" (the brothers as opposed to the monks), and who dwelt apart from the monastic enclosure. It is instructive to consult the Index volume of the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*. We find there two separate indexes, one headed *Index Monachorum*, the other *Index Fratrum*, the latter being exclusively devoted to the names of the *conversi*, or lay-brothers. The friary church at Witham is, therefore, the church of the lay-brothers. On the other hand, modern experts[1] seem satisfied that the actual walls of Witham Church are older than St. Hugh's time. He probably was the author of the vaulted stone roof which is now its most striking feature, and to support this vaulting he had the walls strengthened by an outside casing of stone.

It is not easy to assign a date to the charter (printed in Dugdale) which was granted by Henry II. at Marlborough to the Witham Charterhouse.[2] It must, I think, have preceded the interview between the King and Brother Gerard recounted on p. 99. Mr. Eyton is inclined to put the charter as late as the election of St. Hugh to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1186, when a number of Bishops and nobles assembled at Marlborough, and he calls attention to the fact that it concedes to the monks the right of free election of their Prior. It might perhaps be equally well assigned to the gathering at Marlborough in January, 1182 (1181, Old Style), which would

[1] It would be tedious to go into the evidence, which is given in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæol. Soc.* 1878, pp. 26, seq.; 1893, p. 21.

[2] It is hardly necessary to point out that the word *Charterhouse* has nothing to do with either *charters* or *houses*. It is simply a corruption of the French word *Chartreuse*. Cf. cray-fish for *écrevisse*.

explain this date being accepted for the foundation of Witham.[1] There was nothing niggardly, despite the sneers of Ralph Niger and Giraldus, in the grant made by Henry. In the words of Bishop Hobhouse: "The monks were put in possession of all that afterwards became the liberty and parish of Witham, *i.e*, the 5,497 acres in block immediately round them, and the tract of dry sheep-run on the top of Mendip, which the King had superadded to their great behoof as farmers of a very wet clay-land. With this too was given the fullest immunity from all that might disturb Carthusian recollection. 'Libera ab omni servicio; in liberam eleemosinam,' *i.e.*, in frank-almoigne—freedom from geld, suitage, hidage, pontage, toll of King's purveyors, suits of shire and hundred, and from all pleas including 'murdrum,' *i.e.*, the fine exacted from the hundred for a murder committed in the bounds. 'I forbid,' says Henry, 'my foresters to trouble them in any way within their own limits, or to interfere with those who enter or quit these limits'—a most important immunity from the operation of the oppressive forest rights which included the 'expeditation' of dogs, *i.e.*, the disabling them from hunting by maiming their claws."[2] We have to remember, too, the compensation made not only to the tenants mentioned above, but also to the Canons of Bruton, who received other lands and privileges in South Petherton.

The interview with the King, in which St. Hugh obtained Henry's promise that the evicted tenants should be compensated, may perhaps be assigned to the beginning of October, 1181.[3] "About this time," as we learn from Mr. Eyton, "the King was much in Wiltshire," and he would then have been comparatively easy of access from Witham, which is just over the border on the side of Somersetshire.

[1] *E.g.*, by the Waverley Chronicle, sub anno 1181: "Hoc anno ingressi sunt fratres Carthusiæ habitacula sua primo in Anglia." The same note is found in the Worcester Chronicle, in the *Eulogium Historiarum* of Malmesbury Abbey, and in Bromton.

[2] Bishop Hobhouse on Witham Friary, *Somerset Arch. Society's Proceedings*, 1893, p. 24.

[3] It would seem from Eyton's *Itinerary of Henry II.*, that the King was in Normandy from April, 1180, to August, 1181.

## APPENDIX B.

### *PROFESSION OF OBEDIENCE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. SEALS.*

It would have been interesting to have obtained a specimen of St. Hugh's handwriting, and I was in hopes that the profession of obedience which the new Bishop, according to custom, made to his Metropolitan before consecration might have been preserved at Canterbury. Some of the originals of these documents, often endorsed on the back with the date of the ceremony of consecration, are, as I learn from Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, still in existence in the library of the Dean and Chapter. It appears, however, that in the case of St. Hugh of Lincoln only a copy is preserved,[1] entered with others in a volume used for that purpose. The entry stands thus, expanding the contractions:

"Professio Hugonis Lincolniensis Episcopi.

"Ego Hugo, ecclesiæ Lincolniensis electus, et a te, Reverende Pater B(aldwine), Sanctæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscope et totius Angliæ primas, consecrandus antistes, tibi et Sanctæ Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ et successoribus tuis canonice substituendis debitam et canonicam obedientiam et subjectionem me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto et propria manu subscribendo confirmo. ✠"

In the twelfth century documents were usually authenticated, not by the signature, but by the seal, of the person in whose name they were issued. Hence if any documents were preserved in the handwriting of St. Hugh, it would be almost impossible to identify them as autographs, apart from some exceptional clause like the *propria manu subscribendo confirmo* which is found in these professions of obedience.

[1] I am sorry to be able to make no proper acknowledgment to the gentleman to whose kindness I owe this information, and the transcript which follows. The librarian being absent, a friend was good enough to answer in his place, but I have unfortunately mislaid the letter in which he replied to my query.

Of St. Hugh's seal, a good impression is still preserved attached to Harleian Charter 43, H, 38, B, in the British Museum. To adopt the description given of it in Mr. Walter de Grey Birch's *Catalogue of Seals* (No. 1705), it is: "Pointed, oval, the Bishop full length on a columnar pedestal lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a pastoral staff." Whether the engraver of the seal can ever have intended to produce a portrait of the Bishop must be very doubtful, but in any case the features are too blurred to be recognizable. The inscription it bears is simply

"+ Hugo: Dei: Gracia: Lincolniensis: Episcop."

While speaking of seals, it may be mentioned that the account given by our French biographer of the seal of Witham, reproduced in the footnote on p. 79 above, requires to be corrected in two particulars. The figures beside the Cross must be our Lady and St. John, not St. Mary Magdalen, and secondly, there can be little doubt that in the niche below we must recognize, not "an abbot with his crozier" (the Carthusians had no abbots), but a representation of a Bishop, to wit, our own St. Hugh of Lincoln.

The practice of introducing patron saints, &c., into seals was a common one. In the seal of William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln (1496—1514), St. Hugh's figure may be seen with his name, *S. Hugo*, underneath it, and it is very likely that one of the two heads on either side of the seal of Robert Grosseteste is intended for our Saint. I am inclined to think that a niched figure upon the seal of the Carthusian Monastery of Mount Grace, near Ingleby, Yorks, must be similarly interpreted; see Vallier, *Sigillographie de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, pp. 75 and 244. This author has also some interesting remarks upon the confusion which has arisen in art between St. Hugh of Lincoln and his namesake of Grenoble, owing to the intimate connection of both with the Carthusian Order. (See Vallier, op. cit. pp. 326, seq. and 382, seq.) Lastly, it may be noted that a seal has been preserved of one of St. Hugh's archdeacons, Stephen, Archdeacon of Buckingham, who has already been mentioned in these pages,[1] in connection with a curious ghost story. (See Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, No. 1838.)

[1] P. 214.

## APPENDIX C.

### *ST. HUGH'S ENTHRONEMENT AT LINCOLN.*

The account given in Bk. ii. Chap. 3, of St. Hugh's first coming to his diocese, might appropriately have been supplemented by one or two additional facts. A reference should have been made to the visit to St. Alban's Abbey which he apparently paid on his journey from London, and to the discourtesy of the monks in refusing to allow him to say Mass in their church. The story will, however, be found abbreviated from Giraldus in the Note to Bk. iii. Chap. 3. It would have been well also to have pointed out that St. Hugh in refusing any honorarium to the Archdeacon of Canterbury who enthroned him, was simply acting in accordance with the very plain injunctions of the Third Council of Lateran, held only seven years earlier, in 1179. Under the heading: *Ne quid exigatur pro Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*, the Council declares that it is altogether shocking (*horribile nimis*) that money should be exacted for enthroning bishops and abbots (*pro episcopis et abbatibus ponendis in sede*), and for other similar ecclesiastical functions. "We most distinctly forbid" (*districtius inhibemus*), the decree continues, "that this should be done in future, and that any fee should be demanded for enthroning bishops or abbots, for instituting parish priests, for burying the dead, &c., or for administering any sacrament." Whether St. Hugh's firm attitude did anything towards making the decree of the Council better respected we cannot now tell, but we know that a similar decree was passed in the Provincial Synod of Westminster, while St. Hugh was lying on his death-bed at the Old Temple, in October, 1200. This much is clear, that the refusal of the fee must have made some sensation then and afterwards, for we find it singled out as one of the very few incidents recorded of St. Hugh in the minor chronicles, as, for instance, in Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*. As the old English translation by Trevisa runs: "When he (Hugh) was istalled at Lyncoln by the archedecon, men axede an hors or a cow for his stallying, but he seide that him were

levere forsake the bishopricke than give eny manere thing for such a doynge."[1] One other detail relating to the same function may be gleaned from Benedict, who tells us that after the celebration of Mass on the day of his enthroning, St. Hugh "granted to all who, in honour of Almighty God and out of veneration for St. Michael's day, had come to the function on that occasion, thirteen days' relaxation of the penance enjoined them." It would seem from the fact of its being so formally mentioned, that the grant of an Indulgence on such an occasion was at that time not very common.

## APPENDIX D.

### *BROTHER GERARD OF NEVERS.*

It seems somewhat doubtful, as Mr. Dimock has pointed out in his Preface to the *Magna Vita*,[2] whether any Gerard, Count of Nevers, ever entered the Carthusian Order, and still more doubtful whether, as stated above,[3] this supposed Gerard of Nevers ever came to England. There is no reason to believe that the Gerard of Nevers, or Nivernais, who was the subject of one of St. Hugh's edifying stories,[4] was identical with the plain-spoken brother who so boldly rebuked King Henry II. All that we are told of this latter is that his name was Girardus, and that he was *sanguinis generosi*[5] and *sermone inter magnates et principes efficacissimus*.[6] There is a French metrical romance known as the *Roman de la Violette*, or *Roman de Gérard de Nevers*, which must have been written, according to its editor, about the year 1225. The story of this Gerard by no means accords with that of the Carthusian lay-brother, and it seems unlikely that such a name would have been chosen if there had been a Count Gerard of Nevers living not long before who was known to have entered the Grande Chartreuse. The editor of the Romance, M. Francisque Michel, declares[7] that there never existed a Count of Nevers of the name of Gerard.

[1] *Polychronicon*, vol. viii. p. 183.
[2] P. lxvi. [3] P. 98. [4] See *Magna Vita*, p. 206.
[5] P. 74. [6] P. 72. [7] Preface, p. iii.

# APPENDIX E.

## *HENRY THE SECOND'S BENEFACTIONS TO RELIGIOUS ORDERS.*

In addition to what has already been said on this subject on pp. 83, seq. and 255, it may be mentioned that in the *Magni Rotuli Scaccariæ Normanniæ*, Edit. Stapleton, may be found many evidences of King Henry's consideration for monasteries and charitable institutions. "In 1176," we are told, "Henry fell sick, and was in such danger that his death was reported. In gratitude for his recovery he . . . established a religious community at Yorande as a cell to the Priory of Plessis-Grimoult, and by his charter of endowment gave to the Canons there four churches" in the neighbourhood.[1] Again we hear that "the Priory of Regular Canons . . . in the parish of Beauvoir was founded by Henry II. when Duke of Normandy, before his father's death;"[2] also that the Religious Order known as the *Bonshommes de Grandmont* "had been located by Henry II. in his demesne near Rouen;" indeed, that the Order had owed its foundation to him.[3] There are also many generous gifts to houses already founded, *e.g.*, vol. i. pp. lxxxiv. lxxxvii. cxi. clxxv. &c.; and we more than once read of leper-houses and similar institutions which he had endowed, *e.g.*, vol. i. p. ci.: of "Henry II.'s magnificent *maladrerie* at Caen," or of "the female lepers of Quevilly, one of the pious foundations of Henry II., A.D. 1183,"[4] or again of the lepers of Bayeux, "who have land in Borgesbu of the gift of King Henry."[5]

[1] Vol. i. p. lxvii. [2] P. cxiv. [3] Vol. i. p. cxlvi.; ii. p. clxviii. [4] P. cxlvi. [5] P. clxvii.

# APPENDIX F.

## THE JEWS.[1]

Amongst the other English examples of the supposed murder of a Christian child before the time of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, I might have mentioned the case of a little boy named Harold, who was believed to have been put to death by the Jews at Gloucester in 1168. A long account of his martyrdom may be read in the *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ* (Rolls Series), vol. i. pp. 20, seq. The boy is said to have first been horribly tortured and the body then thrown into the Severn.

It may be remarked also that in some cases murders were undoubtedly committed by Jews, though it does not appear that any blood ritual prompted the crime. In the Hebrew Chronicle, for instance, of Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua Ben Meir, which betrays on every page the author's staunch devotion to the faith of ancient Israel, we may read the following episode, assigned to the year 1197:

"But what shall we say and wherewith shall we justify ourselves before the Lord, when He discovereth the sins of the inhabitants of Nosa?[2] In the year four thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven (A.D. 1197), on the seventh day of the month Adar,[3] a Hebrew, a foolish man, met a Gentile girl and slaughtered her and cast her into the midst of a well, before the face of the sun, for he raved with madness. And the uncircumcised arose and killed him; and the rest of the Jews also they slew with the edge of the sword."[4] And the chronicler goes on to detail the terrible vengeance taken by the Christians on the whole Jewish community. The mother of the murderer seems to have been buried alive, and

[1] See p. 286, supra, and an article by the present writer in *The Month* (June, 1898).

[2] It does not appear what city can be meant by Nosa. The translator of the Chronicle for the Oriental Translation Fund makes no suggestion.

[3] The seventh Adar was kept as a Jewish feast, the commemoration of the birthday and death of Moses. See Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, vol. i. p. 47.

[4] *The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Meir.* Translated from the Hebrew by C. H. Bialloblotzky. Vol. i. p. 219.

others were broken upon the wheel, while a heavy fine was exacted from all who were spared. It was most natural that Jewish feeling should be embittered by these and countless other persecutions of the same kind, but the fact remains that a very vindictive spirit against the Christians breathes in the pages of some of the mediæval Jewish Chronicles. The tone is quite the tone of Shylock, and we can well conceive that a Jew who thought he could avenge himself with impunity upon some solitary Christian, whether child or adult, might perhaps have felt little scruple in so doing.

As to the treatment of the Jews, a distinguished student of mediæval history, Mr. C. Trice Martin, F.S.A., remarks: "The Church was fairer to them than the laity;" and after some citations in support of this remark, he adds: "It was the universal custom throughout Europe for converted Jews to forfeit their property, in spite of the decree of the Lateran Council forbidding this iniquity—another instance of the greater severity of the temporal power than of the spiritual."

So again he says: "The Black Friars (Dominicans) had before this shown signs of a just and kindly feeling to the persecuted race. After the murder of the boy at Lincoln of which these people were accused, the friars exerted themselves strenuously to procure the liberation of the prisoners, even of those whom it was hopeless to attempt to convert. The Annalist of Burton[1] is horribly shocked at their conduct, and hints at bribery, but the result was loss, not gain, to them, for the Londoners in consequence refused to give them alms or assist them in any way."[2]

Interesting details of the treatment of the Jews by the Holy See may be found in Moritz Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, 1893 (this series of documents, however, unfortunately begins only with the year 1272); and in E. Rodocanachi, *Le Saint Siège et les Juifs*, Paris, 1891. Eminent Jewish writers like M. S. Reinach and Dr. Berliner (*Juden in Rom.* ii. 34), are foremost in bearing witness to the clemency shown towards the Jews by the Roman Pontiffs of the middle ages.

[1] *Annales Monastici*, vol. i. p. 348.

[2] *Registrum Epistolarum J. Peckham*, vol. ii. Pref. pp. lxxxviii. and xcvi.

# APPENDIX G.

## *WILLIAM DE MONTE AND THE LINCOLN SCHOOLS.*

The following striking tribute to the eminence as a teacher of William de Monte,[1] and to the high repute of the school of theology over which he presided, ought not to be left out of account. It helps to explain how a scholar of European reputation like Giraldus Cambrensis should have been attracted to Lincoln. The writer, Alexander Neckam, was himself a man of very great erudition and a contemporary. We may reasonably infer that he also had been amongst William's auditors. The poem from which these verses are taken was probably written towards the end of his life, about the year 1215.

Lindisiæ columen Lincolnia sine columna,
Munifica, felix gente, repleta bonis,
Par tibi nulla fóret, si te tuus ille magister
Informarat adhuc moribus atque fide.
Montanus, sed mons stabilis fideique columna,
Cui se cœlestis pagina tota dedit.
Montanus, meritis pius, et servator honesti,
Veraque simplicitas digna favore fuit.
Contulit huic primam cathedram Genevefa; secundam
Mater Virgo, sacræ virginitatis honos.
Transiit ad montem[2] Montanus, monte relicto;
En montana Syon et loca celsa tenet.
Hæc digressio sit signum seu testis amoris;
Condigna fateor laus erit ista minor.[3]

All this is of course indirectly a tribute to St. Hugh himself, under whose care the school of theology had developed.

[1] There is a curiously confused account of William de Monte in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. xviii. p. 391, in which he is erroneously identified with William Shirwood and William of Durham.

[2] This reference to the commanding situation of the Cathedral of Lincoln, under the shadow of which we may assume the theological school was carried on, shows pretty clearly that Neckam must have been familiar with the appearance of the city.

[3] Alexander Neckam, *De laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ*, lines 835—848. I print the verses as they stand in the Rolls Series Edition, but it looks as if something had fallen out after line 841.

There also seems some reason to think that amongst the children who owed their education, as mentioned above,[1] to the piety and provident forethought of the holy Bishop, we ought probably to include the most eminent of all his successors in the see of Lincoln, the celebrated Robert Grosseteste. Although no reliance can in general be placed upon the metrical life of Grosseteste by Richard of Bardeney, it is probable enough that Bardeney was right in thinking that the little Robert when a boy was taught in the Lincoln school. There is a letter of Giraldus Cambrensis which must be assigned to the year 1199, commending the lad to the notice of the Bishop of Hereford, William de Vere,[2] and as this followed closely upon Giraldus' own departure from Lincoln, it seems likely that it was at Lincoln that Giraldus came to know the young scholar and to form so high an opinion of his talents.

## APPENDIX H.

### *ST. HUGH AND THE LEPERS.*

It is rather a curious coincidence that wherever St. Hugh went he seems always to have had lepers within reach. Even in the solitude at Witham there was a small hospital for lepers, apparently too distant to be disturbed when the other inhabitants were forced to transfer themselves elsewhere. These lepers were at Maiden Bradley,[3] about five miles off. There is a low side-window at Witham Friary Church—an illustration is given of it in Miss Thompson's *Somerset Carthusians*—which is usually called a "leper's window," and is believed to have been constructed to allow the lepers to hear Mass and receive Holy Communion; but its right to such a designation seems to me very questionable. Again, there was the great leper hospital of St. Giles, very nearly opposite the Bishop's house at the Old Temple on

[1] P. 199.

[2] Giraldus, *Opera*, vol. i. p. 249. Cf. Felten, *Robert Grosseteste, Bischof von Lincoln*, p. 10.

[3] An agreement affecting Maiden Bradley was drafted in 1188. See Madox, *Form. Anglic.* p. 22.

the other side of Holborn. I find in Blott's *History of Blemundsbury*[1] a reference to an anniversary obit at St. Giles' Hospital, connected with Lincolnshire and its Earl, at which "Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, assigned lands at Ockham for two pitances and a cup of charity and 8 shillings and 4 pence to be distributed to the poor." I do not know whether this is our Hugh, or Hugh de Wells. Some interesting remarks on the lazar-houses of the middle ages in France may be found in Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, with very useful references to authorities.

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## APPENDIX I.

### *ST. HUGH'S DEALINGS WITH WOMEN.*

In the account given of St. Hugh's relations with women,[2] the Carthusian author of the French Life has glossed over some statements of the *Magna Vita* regarding the Saint's paternal familiarity in dealing with the opposite sex. By an oversight the passage in the translation was suffered to pass without footnote or comment. It seems desirable, therefore, to call attention here to what St. Hugh's chaplain actually does say on the subject, for, in the opinion of the present Editor, more harm is done in such a biography by the suspicion that the facts are garbled or coloured to order, than can possibly result from the disedification of the one or two who may fail to understand the greater latitude allowed in these relations by mediæval manners. In the ninth chapter, then, of the fourth book of the *Magna Vita*, the chaplain says:

"Secure in his privilege of chastity, St. Hugh, after the custom of other bishops, would sometimes make religious matrons and also widows sit beside him at table. His hands, which were always kept scrupulously clean, he would press upon their heads, making the sign of the Cross upon their foreheads. There were occasions even when he clasped them lightly against his pure bosom, and after he had

[1] P. 291. [2] Pp. 225, 226.

copiously instructed them how to follow in the footsteps of the holy women of old, he commended them to God with his blessing and dismissed them in peace."[1]

It should be remembered that when Abbot Adam first entered his patron's service, the holy Bishop was very little short of sixty years of age. Neither is there any reason to believe that he would have permitted himself to show such paternal tenderness before he had been made by episcopal consecration the true father of Christ's flock. However, there can be no doubt that something also must be laid to the account of the manners of the time. That greater external demonstrativeness which allowed grown men to embrace each other and to shed tears in public without shame, must have had some influence also upon the behaviour of priests and religious persons towards women. No English Saint was more renowned for his virginal purity than St. Edmund of Canterbury. His vow of chastity at the age of twelve, when he placed an espousal ring upon the finger of our Lady's statue, from which it could not afterwards be withdrawn, is amongst the best remembered incidents of his life. Still there seems no doubt that the holy Archbishop used a freedom in his dealings with women whose saintly conduct was known to him, which in our days would rightly be deemed unbecoming. In the Lanercost Chronicle we read of a young Norfolk lady whom St. Edmund had guided to religious life and placed in the Convent of Catesby, where his sister was Abbess. On one occasion the Saint sent for his *protégée* in Holy Week, who came with another nun as companion "to the Archbishop's Court on Easter Eve, but somewhat late, as Edmund was already washing his hands for the solemn function. But true affection knows no restraint, so as soon as he saw the chaste spouse of Christ he took her to his arms, and said: 'You are welcome indeed, and if the world in its judgments were not too harsh for the purity of our intentions, nothing should ever separate us from each other.'"[2]

[1] "Palmis etiam mundissimis capita illarum constringens atque consignans, aliquoties etiam pectori suo castissimo leniter imprimens eas de sectandis vestigiis sanctarum feminarum ubertim instructas . . . in pace dimittebat." (p. 197.)

[2] Dom Wallace, *Life of St. Edmund*, p. 122.

# APPENDIX J.

## ST. HUGH AND THE PARTY OF PRINCE JOHN.

In reference to a statement made on p. 288, it may be noted that there are some slight indications to show that St. Hugh is not at all likely to have thrown himself unreservedly into the party of Gerard of Camville. In the *Historia Croylandensis*, printed by Gale,[1] we find, as already stated on p. 280, note 3, Gerard of Camville and other Lincolnshire knights, amongst them a certain Fulk de Oiri, apparently trying to tyrannize over the monks of Croyland. The monks maintained a stout resistance both by argument and force of arms, and further reflection makes it seem to me still more likely that this, and not any anti-Jewish outbreak, was the riot in Holland in which St. Hugh, assisted by his cousin, William of Avalon, interposed and manifested such signal courage.[2] That the relations between Gerard of Camville and St. Hugh were not over friendly, seems to be clear from the letter of Giraldus Cambrensis about his benefice at Chesterton.[3] Fulk de Oiri was also an historical character, sufficiently celebrated to be assigned a prominent part in the metrical romance of *Richard, Cœur de Lion*.[4] We meet him in the *Rotuli Curiæ Regis*[5] for 1194, under the following entries:

"Episcopus Lincoln. petiit curiam suam die mercurii post

[1] *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, vol. i. pp. 453, seq. This chronicle is not to be confused with the pseudo-Ingulf.

[2] See *Magna Vita*, p. 167, above p. 280. This disturbance, it may be noted, took place very much at the same time as the anti-Jewish riot. It was in the last year of Henry II.'s reign and the first of that of Richard I. "Quo audito (*i.e.*, the rumour of Henry II.'s death) Hoylandenses excogitaverunt quomodo possent mariscum violenter invadere et obtinere, putantes se facile posse Abbatem de Croylandia pauperem, et domum suam parvam superare, confidentes in virtute sua et in multitudine divitiarum suarum, Gerardus itaque de Camville, et Fulco de Oiri, et Thomas de Multon, &c. . . . convenerunt Nicholaum Priorem Spalding ut ipse hujus violentiæ se præberet ducem," &c. (p. 453.)

[3] See above, p. 315, note 2.

[4] See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. i. p. 946.

[5] Edit. Maitland, Pipe Roll Society, vol. xiv.

festum Scæ Trinit. de placito advocationis ecclesiæ de Gedenei quod est inter Abbatem de Croiland et Fulconem de Oiri."[1]

"Dies dictus est Abbati de Croiland et Fulconi de Oiri, de placito advocationis Ecclesiæ de Gedenei a die St. Michaelis in xv dies, et interim licentiam habent concordiæ, et interesse oportet Episcopum Lincoln."

Lastly, from a record preserved in the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 96*b*, it would seem that the Abbot of Croyland had appealed to St. Hugh against the usurpations of Fulk de Oiri: "Falco de Oiri petiit præsentationem vicariæ ecclesiæ de Gedene versus abbatem de Croiland." The record, the editor informs us, which was partly eaten away, states that Fulco de Oiri and the Abbot of Croyland had come to terms about the advowson. Fulco was to present any cleric he pleased, and the Abbot was to institute him, receiving ten silver marks per annum. The Abbot declares that the cause belongs to the Bishop of Lincoln.

## APPENDIX K.

### *ST. HUGH'S GRANTS OF CHURCHES.*[2]

If it were possible to make any close search of the records of the times, we should probably be able to draw up a very long list of the grants of parish churches to monasteries and religious houses made or confirmed by St. Hugh. As it is, we have casual references to not a few, due to the accident of their being cited in lawsuits of a later date. Thus the Note Book of the great jurist Bracton, who lived in the thirteenth century, supplies us with some additional examples, besides those already cited from the *Placitorum Abbreviatio*. In a suit of darrein presentment mentioned in Bracton's Note Book (n. 206), a charter of St. Hugh was produced confirming the grant of the church of Eston to Chaucomb Priory. In n. 211 appears a similar charter confirming the grant of Birkthorp (Birketorpe) to Sempringham Priory. In n. 280 we hear of a charter of St. Hugh confirming the grant

[1] P. 7.

[2] See pp. 231 and 324.

of the church of Oddington to the abbey of Sulby, Northampton. There is also perhaps question of another in n. 1607. In the same Note Book (n. 357) it is interesting to find reference to a charter of St. Hugh's, attesting that he instituted a certain Adam as perpetual vicar of the church of Tunethorp. The evidence for the early date of perpetual vicarages becomes more and more abundant the more closely we examine contemporary chronicles and records. The *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* in particular throws great light upon the first beginnings of such vicarages.

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## APPENDIX L.

### *THE VISION OF THE MONK OF EYNSHAM.*[1]

SINCE the Note to Book III. Chap. 6, in which I have discussed the authorship of the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, was in type, I have observed a reference to this matter in Dom Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*,[2] which still further confirms the conclusion arrived at. It appears that the early Carthusian chronicler, Bohicius, after narrating the story of the clerk who had seen the Divine Infant in the hands of St. Hugh, and after mentioning that he withdrew to a monastery, and had other revelations there, goes on to say that a copy of these revelations was preserved in the Charterhouse of Parc, especially "of that wonderful and terrible revelation which he had of the future state of souls after this present life." Upon this Le Couteulx further informs us that a reference, or references, to these same revelations are to be found in the writings of Denis the Carthusian, citing the *Dialogus de Particulari Judicio Animarum*, Art. 23. An examination of the passage shows that Denis unquestionably had before him a copy of the Eynsham revelation, in which St. Nicholas had been the visionary's guide, and that certain theological difficulties concerning it are propounded and answered. Moreover, in the treatise of the same writer, *De Quatuor Novissimis*, Art. 47,

[1] See pp. 348, seq. [2] *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 112.

certain portions of the vision of the Monk of Eynsham will be found summarized, as that of a "certain religious in England who from Maundy Thursday till Easter eve was rapt in spirit, and on coming to himself narrated many wonderful and terrible things which he had seen. The history of this vision," he goes on,[1] "was written down, not only by a certain eminent religious [no doubt our good Abbot Adam], but also by the Reverend Father Peter, the Lord Abbot of Cluny." Who this may be I have found it impossible to ascertain; Peter the Venerable, of course, had been dead long years before the date of the vision. As to the identity of the revelations which Denis the Carthusian had before him with those of the Monk of Eynsham, the summary which he gives removes all possibility of doubt. He even makes particular reference to the punishment of the King of England, cited above, p. 352.

In the account of the vision given in the body of the Life, I have omitted to point out that the Latin text confirms, at least indirectly, the statement of the *Magna Vita*, that the revelations "were set down in writing by the order of the holy Bishop." From the prologue to the document we learn that Adam wrote at the command of great personages (*magni viri*), whose will was law to him both from the just authority they had to command him, and from the deference he owed to their conspicuous sanctity. Obviously this can apply to no one so well as to the holy Bishop of the diocese, who, just at that time, stood to the monastery of Eynsham in place of an Abbot. If the plural is not purely honorific, we may suppose that the second personage so referred to was the Prior Thomas mentioned by Coggeshall. Secondly, Adam tells us that he was an eye-witness (*quibus interfui*) of the extraordinary occurrences which preceded and attended the revelation, and also that he wrote in the same year in which it took place.

It seems worth while to add that a careful study of the

[1] "Horum unus extitit religiosus quidam in Anglia qui a die Cœnæ usque ad vesperam Paschæ raptus fuit in spiritu et reversus ad se mirabilia et terribilia multa narravit quæ vidit, cujus visionis historiam descripsit non solum quidam notabilis religiosus sed etiam Reverendus Pater Dominus Petrus Abbas Cluniacensis."

vision in the original Latin[1] (the English translation of Machlinia unfortunately omits a number of significant details, especially the incidental comments of the writer), only confirms the impression which I have already so frequently and strongly insisted upon, of Abbot Adam's scrupulous truthfulness. "Let no one," he says in his prologue, "have any misgivings as to the truth of what I am about to relate. I know full well that all who speak falsehood shall be brought to destruction, and I would rather remain absolutely silent than by writing down anything in which falsehood be detected, both to lie myself first, and to beget as many other liars as there may be found persons to repeat my tale."[2] Again he declares that in his account of the things seen by the visionary in his trance he adheres closely to the actual words in which the monk related them on coming to himself. "We are confident," he writes, "that we have not departed from his own statements even in the least particular."[3] Of course it may be said that these are mere professions, but when it is remembered how fully, in the *Magna Vita*, these professions

[1] The original Latin text of the vision of the Eynsham monk is preserved substantially entire in at least four English MSS. (Cotton. *Cleop.* C, xi. ; Digby, 34 ; Selden, B. 66 ; Bodleian, 636.) Moreover, through the kindness of Père Brucker, S.J., I am informed of the existence of another copy in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. (Fonds Latin, No. 14,978.) Besides this we have the abbreviation in Wendover and Matthew Paris, and the printed English version. But the most curious text which we possess, is that contained in the fourteenth century MS. (Cotton. *Calig.* A, viii.) Here we have an entirely new Latin rendering, and, as we learn from the Prologue, the Vision has been translated back into Latin from a rhyming French version, which was no doubt made from Adam's Latin text at an earlier period. Of this intermediate metrical translation I do not know that any trace now exists, but I cannot help conjecturing that it may have been the work of a certain monk in the neighbouring monastery of St. Frideswide. This monk, named Angier, produced in 1212, a similar translation into French verse of the Dialogues of St. Gregory. (See *Romania*, 1883, pp. 145—208.) Père Brucker, however, who has very kindly looked through MS. No. 24,766 (Fonds Français), which contains this translation of St. Gregory, can find in it no allusion to the Eynsham vision.

[2] MS. Cotton, *Cleop.* C, xi. f. 49 *b*.

[3] "Cujus cotidiana relatione de hiis ad unguem edocti quæ scribimus ne in minimo quidem ab ejus nos verbis deviare indubitanter scimus" (*Ibid.* f. 53 *b*.)

in the eyes of impartial critics are justified by the facts, when we remember what kind of a man St. Hugh was, and that Abbot Adam was his chosen friend, confidant, and disciple, it would seem to me the very extravagance of incredulity to suppose that such words have no meaning for the writer, and that he uses them merely in order to be able to lie with greater impunity. In the account he has given of the remarkable phenomena of the trance, the exactitude of his descriptions would be vouched for by modern physicians. To Abbot Adam the extraordinary cataleptic state in which the young monk lay for nearly thirty-six hours was itself a greater miracle than all the rest.[1] Modern science, while it refuses to see in it anything of the supernatural, must needs confirm the accuracy with which the symptoms are recorded. Is there then any reasonable ground for doubting about facts such as the following, which the narrator himself regarded as less marvellous, and which were equally subject to investigation, being matters of common knowledge both to him and to all his brethren in the monastery?

"And beside all these things, we know also another certain thing that was a full fair miracle, and a very token of God's curation showed on him the same time, and as much to be marvelled. Soothly he had almost the space of a whole year in his left leg a great sore, and a full bitter, as it were a cancer large and broad, whereby he was pained intolerably. And he was wont to say that he had such a sorrow and pain thereof, as he had borne a hot plate of iron bound fast to his leg. And there was no plaster, no ointment, neither any other medicine, howbeit that he had much leechcraft laid to it, that might ease him of his pain or draw the wound together. Truly in the space of his ravishing he was so fully healed that he himself marvelled with us to feel and see the pain and ache with the wound so clean gone, that no token of it nor sign of redness or of whiteness remained, above the marvellous curation of God. Alonely this difference had his leg that was sore from the other leg, that where the aforesaid sore was, that place was bare and had none hair."

I will only add to this a statement which I may reproduce without concurring in it, and which a friend has called

[1] See his remarks, Cotton MS. f. 69.

my attention to in one of the early volumes of the *Edinburgh Review*, September, 1818 :

Foscolo, in a review on F. Cancellieri's *Osservazioni intorno alla Questione sopra la Originalità del Poema di Dante*,[1] says, after speaking of the vision of the monk Alberic and others : 'It may be said, that Dante either profited by all, or by none : but if there be any one to which he can be supposed to be indebted more than another, it is the vision of an English monk, not named by any one that we know, though told circumstantially by Matthew Paris. The English monk, like the Italian (Alberic), gives no description of Hell, but, like Dante, describes his Purgatory as a mount ; the passage from Purgatory to Paradise a vast garden, intersected by delightful woods, as in our poet. Both had their visions in the Holy Week ; both allot the same punishments to the same infamous crimes, with some other points of resemblance, which those who are curious may find in Matthew Paris. . . . It is sufficiently probable that Dante had read the history of Matthew Paris, the historian having died before the birth of the poet.' "

## APPENDIX M.

### *LITURGICAL MEMORIALS OF ST. HUGH.*

With the single exception of the sequence taken from Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 11,414, which has been printed by Mr. Christopher Wordsworth in his *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, and is copied on the following page, we have hardly any traces of a "proper" liturgy for either St. Hugh's day or the day of his translation. In the Sarum Breviary, even as adopted in the diocese of Lincoln, the Office of St. Hugh follows the common in all except the prayer and the lessons. Stonyhurst College possesses a copy of the Sarum Breviary, apparently used by the Augustinian Bonhommes of Asheridge, Bucks, which was in the Lincoln diocese. Both the "Translatio" (Oct. 6) and the "Natale S. Hugonis" (Nov. 17), are marked in the calendar as *festa novem lectionum*, and in each case the lessons of the first and third nocturn are read from

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxx. p. 319, September, 1818.

the *Legenda* of St. Hugh, while those of the second are taken from the lives of saints commemorated on the same day, being respectively St. Anianus and St. Faith. The lessons are all extremely short.[1] Those for the *Natale* correspond exactly to those of Sarum, and are taken from the first part of the Life. Those for the Translation include the miracle of the madman of Cheshunt and that of the cripple who, in the building of Lincoln Cathedral, was cured by using St. Hugh's hod.

IN COMMEMORATIONE SANCTI HUGONIS EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS SEQUENCIA.

Sonent mundæ mentis vota,
Sint per vocem vota nota,
Sit vox dulcis mens devota,
in Hugonis laudibus.

Hic felici vixit vita
Cartusiensis cenobita:
Carnem terit heremita
cilicinis vestibus.

Probant signa fide digna
Viri Dei titulos,
Vitæ morum meritorum
quæ patent ad oculos.

Gradum scandens dignitatum
Wythamiensem prioratum
Primo rexit; præsulatum
post nactus Lincolniæ.

Sed non Martha contemplantem
Nec Maria laborantem
Præpedivit, tot librantem
labores ecclesiæ.

Templi, chori, plebis jura
Pastorali rexit cura,
Probat cujus sepultura
meritorum præmia.

Hujus membra celebrantes
Gaudeant per sæcula;
Qui cum Deo est insignis
Præsul dignus et cum dignis
nos ducat ad gaudia. Amen.[2]

[1] Two lessons, for instance, are made out of the first paragraph of the *Legenda* as printed by Dimock in *Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. vii. p. 172.

[2] *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Edit. C. Wordsworth, vol. vii. p. 172.

In the Brownlow abbreviation of the *Magna Vita* we find the following anthem and versicle:

[Ant.] O quam grata Dei pietas, pia gratia! Quanto[1]
Fenere retribuit meritorum præmia sanctis,
Æternaque breves mercede remunerat actus!
Hæc indeficiens Hugonis gloria pandit.

℣. Elegit sibi Dominus virum de plebe.
℟. Et claritatem visionis æternæ dedit illi.

*Oremus.* Deus qui beatum Hugonum, &c.

This may possibly have served for a briefer form of commemoration when it was liturgically impossible for the clergy of the Cathedral to set a day aside, as was the custom in each week, to say the Mass and Office of St. Hugh. This weekly *Commemoratio S. Hugonis* strangely enough appears in the *Rolls of Re and Ve* (*recedendi* and *veniendi*—a register in which the attendance of the canons was entered) down to the year 1640. No doubt it ceased to have any ritual significance after the Reformation, but it was retained for the sake of certain traditional allowances made, according to a fixed scale, to the canons in attendance, on double feasts and on the commemoration of St. Hugh. See Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, vol. iii. p. 809.

Of churches dedicated to St. Hugh two only seem to be known, one at Pointon (by Sempringham) in Lincolnshire, the other at Quethiock in Cornwall.

[1] I have ventured to read *pia gratia* for Mr. Wordsworth's *pie gracia*, and *quanto* for *quando*.

## APPENDIX N.

### *ST. HUGH IN ART.*

As early pictures of St. Hugh are few and unimportant, and none of them can be supposed to preserve any real likeness of the Saint, it does not seem worth while to do more than give a reference to what Mr. Dimock,[1] Mr. Christopher Wordsworth,[2] and the Carthusian author of the *Vie de St. Hugues* have said upon this subject. I will only remark that the emblems assigned by tradition to St. Hugh are not always to be met with in the representations of him still preserved to us. Of these emblems the swan is the commonest; the chalice and the Infant Jesus are of less frequent occurrence. But many ancient pictures undoubtedly meant to represent St. Hugh give him no special emblem. Such are, for instance, many engravings which depict the Saints of the Carthusian Order arranged in a sort of family tree, or root of Jesse.[3] This is also the case with the busts or full-length figures of him introduced into seals. (See above, p. 605.) Amongst such undistinguished portraits must I think be included a striking "Head of a White Monk" in the National Gallery. The picture is assigned to the painter Lodovico da Parma, c. 1500. It bears the legend "S. Ugo," and though it is assigned in the catalogue to St. Hugh of Grenoble, there can be little doubt that it represents our own Saint. Bearing in mind the explicit statement that St. Hugh of Grenoble would not wear the Carthusian habit, but always adhered to the black robe of St. Benedict, it seems in every way probable that this monastic figure in Carthusian dress, with crozier and aureole, can represent no other than the holy Bishop of Lincoln. Through the kindness of the same friend to whom I am already indebted for the Index to this work and for much other help, this painting has been photographed to serve as a frontispiece to the present volume.

[1] Introduction to *Metrical Life*, p. xxiii.

[2] In Archdeacon Perry's *Life of St. Hugh of Avalon*, Appendix D.

[3] See, for instance, the fine old folio volume of Carthusian statutes printed in Paris in 1510.

## APPENDIX O.

### *WALTER MAP AND ST. PETER OF TARENTAISE.*

To the end of his life, as we have seen,[1] St. Hugh retained an earnest feeling of veneration and gratitude towards his old friend St. Peter of Tarentaise, and it seems worth while to recall here something of the tribute paid by the famous Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, to this holy Cistercian Archbishop. When we remember the terms of bitter vituperation in which Map and his ally Giraldus Cambrensis not unfrequently permitted themselves to denounce the whole Cistercian Order, it is almost startling to find that several of the very men whom they hold up to veneration for the singular holiness of their lives were or had been Cistercians, and remained to the end the most devoted champions of the Order. Nothing could more clearly show that much of the abusive language levelled at the monks in those outspoken days, when men seemed to have little idea of the necessity of restraining their tongues, was mere petulance and deliberate exaggeration, even if it were not adopted, as it undoubtedly was sometimes, simply to show off the writer's smartness and command of invective. In the case of the Carthusians, at any rate, it will hardly be maintained that they had laid themselves open to reproach, and yet at the very time that St. Hugh was still Prior of Witham, Walter Map, who was penning his *De Nugis Curialium*, could not let even the mortified sons of St. Bruno pass without a growl, which might easily be distorted by a careless reader into a denunciation of ambition, avarice, and pharisaism against the whole institute. Of St. Peter of Tarentaise, who had been brought up in the early days of Citeaux uuder the eye of St. Stephen Harding, the Englishman, who was the virtual founder of the Order, Walter Map speaks in terms of the highest appreciation. Writing somewhere about the year 1180, he says in the same work: "I afterwards saw the Blessed Peter, Archbishop of Tarentaise, whose home is in the Alps, a man of such virtue and conspicuous for so many miracles, that he may justly be

[1] P. 472 above and p. 63.

accounted the equal in merit of those ancient Fathers whom we venerate upon the altars of the Church. Through him by a touch of his hand or by the offering of a prayer, God used to heal the infirm and to drive out devils, neither did Peter ever ask any grace without obtaining it. For eleven days the holy man once paid a visit to our Lord King Henry II. of England at Limoges, and I was charged by the King to wait upon him and to see that he was duly entertained at the royal expense. I found him to be a man of joyous nature, cheerful in all things that befel, in his outward appearance cleanly, modest and humble; indeed to me, as to many others, he seemed to be a model of virtue."

Walter Map then goes on to say, that he had heard of many miracles which he had wrought, and had himself been the eye-witness of one. The incident occurred in the presence of John Bishop of Poitiers, afterwards Archbishop of Lyons, an Englishman. It was the cure of a demoniac or lunatic, closely resembling several such cures recorded in the Life of St. Hugh. The sufferer, after a Gospel had been read over him, was suddenly restored to his right senses, and John of Poitiers, Map tells us, "starting to his feet, exclaimed with tears: 'Of a truth the sick man is healed. This is the only Bishop; the rest of us are dogs that cannot bark!'"

Among the miracles attributed to St. Peter of Tarentaise which Map had not witnessed, but which he records without seeming to suggest any doubt as to their authenticity, was the changing of water into wine, and the feeding of a multitude of men miraculously, with a few loaves of bread, "that you may know that even in these our days, the grace of God is not lacking to those who ask it and deserve it."[1]

As I have mentioned Walter Map, I may take occasion to remark that this same work of his contains one or two ghost stories, or perhaps more correctly stories of vampires,[2] which bear a close resemblance to those recounted above from William of Newburgh.[3] In this instance also application was made to the Bishop, who recommended a treatment not very dissimilar to that suggested by St. Hugh.

[1] Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 69—72. [2] Pp. 103, seq.
[3] Pp. 215, seq.

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# CORRIGENDA.

P. 72, in note 2, *read* "*Magna Vita*, bk. ii. ch. 2."

P. 74, heading, *for* "Chapter V.," *read* "Chapter VIII."

P. 85, l. 7, *for* "*Anglian Kings*," *read* "*Angevin Kings.*"

P. 139, in note 2, *for* "Apendix," *read* "Appendix."

P. 151, l. 15, *for* "*litteratissimus*," *read* "*litteratissimus.*"

P. 160, last paragraph. By an oversight the ceremonial observances referred to have been treated as if they formed part of the summary of Lincoln usages sent to the Bishop of Moray by Roger de Rolleston before 1214. In Mr. Bradshaw's judgment they were forwarded to Scotland at a somewhat later date, which, for reasons not explained, he considers to have been 1236. See "Memorandum on the Books," vol. i. pp. 39, 52, 58.

P. 178, note. Further examination makes it clear that the copy of the *Magna Vita* referred to was identical with that used by Dom Le Vasseur, in which a supplementary chapter of miracles taken out of the *Legenda* has been interpolated at the end of Book III.

P. 180, note 2. This passage of the Metrical Life, as cited by the French Carthusian author, seems to be misinterpreted. The allusion is not to a forest of independent pillars, but to the profusion of clustered columns which surround the main shafts, and which form a very characteristic feature of the architecture of Lincoln Cathedral.

P. 233, l. 13. *for* "(c. 1215)," *read* "(c. 1236)," as explained above in the correction to p. 160.

P. 234, note 2, *for* "*Well*," *read* "*Wells.*"

P. 236, note, l. 5, *for* "victa," *read* "victu."

P. 276, l. 3 from bottom, "began, in his diocese" ; dele comma.

P. 278, note, l. 9 from bottom. It is perhaps rash to describe the *Magna Vita* as "given to the world during the minority of Henry III." There seems no sufficient reason to suppose that its publication was so long delayed.

P. 332, l. 16. It should perhaps have been pointed out that in speaking of being "suspended" himself, the Saint was probably only punning, and not speaking seriously. He meant that he would be hanged first.

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